EXPERIENCING 'HOME' IN THE CITY, UNIVERSITY, AND DWELLING: EVERYDAY GEOGRAPHIES OF INDIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON AND TORONTO

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Geography, at the
School of Geography,
Queen Mary, University of London.

Subhadra Patil née Roy

2014

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I, Subhadra Roy, confirm that the research included within this thesis is my own work.

I attest that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge break any UK law, infringe any third party's copyright or other Intellectual Property Right, or contain any confidential material.

I accept that the College has the right to use plagiarism detection software to check the electronic version of the thesis.

I confirm that this thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

Signature: Subhadra Roy.

Date: 09.09. 2014.

ABSTRACT

The global mobility of international students has a distinct geography. For international students, moving from their 'home' countries to a new country entails significant changes in their everyday lives. Moving across continents and temporarily or permanently settling in a 'foreign' land are the stepping stones to an intensely mobile existence. They maintain transnational connections with their 'home' country, and move across and between different social spaces locally, primarily with the help of friendship networks. Framing the research around theoretical underpinnings of migration, transnationalism, and (im)mobilities in the context of 'home' for Indian students in London and Toronto, the research involved 72 semi-structured, in-depth interviews with 36 students, together with self-directed photography of their everyday life and solicited week-long diaries. The research has two main aims. The first is to explore the emotional, material, sensorial, and embodied nature of 'home' and their spatialities in three different spaces: the city, university, and dwelling. Second, the research aims to unearth the multi-layered nature of their socio-spatial identities through their everyday spatialities. The main findings re-instated the importance of place as experiences of the students in the spaces of the city, university, and dwelling varied (and were also similar) in London and Toronto. Also, apart from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of the Indian students, there were characteristic differences in the motivations for migration. This also pointed towards the significance of place, with London and Toronto attracting two different kinds of Indian students. Most importantly, 'home' was understood as processual, and simultaneously mobile, and emplaced.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AV—Audio-visual

CAT—Common Admission Test

DU—Delhi University

GBC—Graduate Business Club

GMAT—Graduate Management Admission Test

GRE—Graduate Record Examination

GTA—Greater Toronto Area

IALS—Institute of Advanced Legal Studies

ICT—Information and Communication Technology

IELTS—International English Learning Testing System

Imperial—Imperial College of Science, Technology, and Medicine

INR—Indian Rupee

ISS—Indian Students' Society

JNU—Jawaharlal Nehru University

LLM—Master of Laws

LSE—London School of Economics and Political Science

MA—Master of Arts

MBA—Master in Business Administration

MSc—Master of Science

NFT—National Film Theatre

PhD—Doctor in Philosophy

PR—Permanent Residency

QMUL—Queen Mary, University of London

SABC—South Asia Business Council

SOAS—School of Oriental and African Studies

TOEFL—Test of English as a Foreign Language

U of T—University of Toronto

UCL—University College, London

UKCOSA—UK Council for Overseas Student Affairs

YU—York University

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of all the people who believed in me, and in my research. Some of the people I have met in this journey have become a part of my closest circle of love. Their strength of conviction gave me strength to carry on in difficult times. But before I proceed to acknowledge the people who made this thesis possible, my sincerest gratitude is for Queen Mary's college studentship which gave me an opportunity to follow my dream of a doctoral degree. Also, the Central Research Fund helped immensely in my fieldwork in Toronto.

The foundation of the research is based on the kindness of strangers. The participants who volunteered to share their lives with me and spent hours talking, taking photographs, and writing diaries is the cornerstone of the thesis. Their willingness to be part of the research and enthusiasm in dedicating their time with was truly heart-rending. I shall forever be indebted to them. I am grateful to Sukriti Kasliwal and Ritika Shrimali who gave me some valuable contacts in London and Toronto respectively. Ritika also helped me solve accommodation problems in Toronto. Without her help, the fieldwork in Toronto would have come to a standstill.

The School of Geography at Queen Mary has been my academic home and the people in it have welcomed me like family. My supervisors Alison Blunt and Isabel Dyck have been my guiding light and it is to their unwavering support and encouragement that I owe this thesis to. Their kind, incisive, critical, and compassionate attention to every aspect of the research, and especially, thesis writing has made me a better scholar. Their remarkable ability to respond to every query (and distress call) with equal calmness even transnationally has made me a better human being. Jennifer Murray deserves special mention for being the go-to person for every PhD related issue, even across continents. Many thanks to Ed Oliver, whose promptness in computing maps have added a visual and conceptual depth to the thesis.

I was introduced to Jayani Bonnerjee as my academic mentor when I arrived at Queen Mary. Since then, the friendship has grown and she has opened her heart and home to me on several occasions in London. She has kindly read several drafts of my chapters and given valuable feedback. I shall be forever indebted to her for being such a pillar of strength over the years. The thesis also stands on the bedrock of transnational friendships of Ramya Badrinath, Seemita Mitra Verma, Somdatta Banerjee, and Mila Deb. Conversations with them helped me continue writing while caring for my newborn son. To Manjita Mukharji I owe the idea of incorporating 'imagination' while understanding Indian students' views of the city, which was a crucial turning point of my vision for the chapter. Friends and family who have always reminded me to find joy (also) outside the thesis are Sukalyan Roy, Aditya Patil, Emilie Whitaker, Mindy Rubin, Muhammad Waqar Manzoor,

Amit Meena, Sarvesh Singh, Abhijeet Korale, Mansi Mhetre Wangikar, and Siddhant Wangikar, the Kidwai family, and the Cohen family.

Parama Roy deserves a very special mention, for without her undying support I would not have made it through every stage of the research. The doctoral journey has been an emotional one and she has been the first person I've called when I've had an epiphany or a breakdown. She has been and continues to be my sounding-board and her unrelenting patience and calmness have helped me through many turbulent times. Right from introducing me to creative qualitative methodology as a fellow geographer, to kindly giving me access to academic journals when in India as a friend, she has always been there. Our 17-year old friendship has strengthened manifold during our respective doctoral journeys and I look forward to many more years of academic debates and pursuits.

I feel blessed to be a part of an extraordinary family who believes in personal freedom. From my parents and grandparents, I have inherited my courage and curiosity to push boundaries. My in-laws have nurtured my desire to strive for personal growth and excellence not only through words but also through action. To my parents I owe my fortitude for they were the ones who encouraged me to follow my dream against all odds, and especially my mother without whom the last few weeks of writing would have been a nightmare. And Ayan, my one-year old has taught me much more than any teacher has ever done.

Finally, and most importantly, this journey would not have been as entertaining or enlightening if not for Anoop. His positivity and cheerfulness have reminded me time and again that the PhD is not the end but the beginning. He has used every tactic possible to keep me focussed and motivated. Some of those worked and some of those didn't but always he has made me smile. He has applauded every little triumph and held my hand through every disaster. His uncanny ability to find solutions to apparently insolvable problems has been my greatest strength. Even at times when we were miles apart, he was always been a phone call away; always putting my thesis before his needs. With him my world has changed completely and yet everything has remained the same. He is my best friend, my husband, my home.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Beatrice Braganca was an Indian doctoral student of Biochemistry at the Banting Institute at University of Toronto and a resident of YWCA in 1947. I stumbled upon this nugget of information in an article (and a photograph) in the Toronto Daily Star dated May 5, 1947, while combing through English Canadian newspapers for my MA dissertation. Unfortunately, nothing more was written about her and I wondered how stories about everyday lives of Indian students remain in the dark. After relocating to London, I could not overlook the fact that Britain has had a long history of hosting Indian students (Lahiri, 1999) including world leaders and famous personalities like Gandhi, Nehru, and Jinnah (among many other renowned Indians) who later orchestrated the Indian freedom movement. Using my own everyday experiences as an international student in Toronto and London as the starting point, I began my doctoral journey with the question: 'What does home mean for Indian (international) students?'

International Student Mobility (ISM) has increasingly gained purchase in academic research owing to the large numbers of international students moving from their home countries to their destination countries or 'host' countries, where they take up residence for a relatively short period of time for the purpose of gaining an international higher education. The most striking feature of ISM is the scale of numbers involved. The most recent figures[1] state that worldwide 4.5 million students moved in 2014. Students belong to all age groups, from child students to undergraduate and postgraduate students. The variations in age (among other factors) affect their experiences of an international education. The internationalization of higher education refers to the

[1]Source: http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Project-Atlas (Last accessed: 13th July, 2015).

recruitment of international students and the internationalization of the curriculum, pedagogic practices, and the global dissemination of knowledge. This in turn is linked to globalization of higher education practices. Internationalization and globalization of higher education forms a major part of the studies on international students. The discipline of Geography has also demonstrated considerable interest in the topic of higher education and international students. Johanna Waters and Rachel Brooks' research is particularly notable in this regard. Waters (2006, 2007, 2009a) has drawn academic attention to the importance of a social capital lens to understand the strategies adopted by families of international students from Hong Kong. Also, analyzing social networks (Brooks and Waters, 2010) and introducing 'youthful escape' (Waters *et al*, 2011) as part of the international experience have provided a shift in perspective in understanding international students' lives. Their research on UK students' experiences of international education (Waters and Brooks, 2011; Brooks and Waters, 2009a, 2009b) has added a new geographical dimension to the analysis of ISM. The inter-disciplinary nature of Waters and Brooks' research makes significant contribution to debates in geographies of (higher) education.

Geographical research on education includes socio-cultural aspects of learning and teaching (Hanson Thiem, 2009); educational and learning spaces from primary to tertiary levels (King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Kraftl and Adey, 2008); subjectivities related to education (Hopkins, 2011); and social networks and mobilities (Findlay *et al,* 2006; Findlay *et al*, 2012). Holloway and Jöns (2012) point out the diversity of disciplinary backgrounds from which debates surrounding the different aspects of education and their intersections with geography have emerged. This has not only enriched the field but also broadened academic horizons. Geographies of education critically evaluate concepts of 'learning' and 'education' by focusing on their socio-

spatial aspects. Holloway *et al* (2010) articulate that by focusing on children, youth, and families, their aim has been to understand links between identities and education. Raghuram (2013) also considers international students as active subjects who "construct themselves through a variety of other positioning, individually and together. They anticipate, interpret, perform and subvert the positions alongside those as friends, family members and mobile subjects, and they do this through a range of communicative practices" (Raghuram, 2013: 149). My study aims to throw further light on the interrelationship between identities and education by including feelings of home and belonging. My study also contributes to debates on formal/informal spaces of learning by including (international) migration within the fold of the discussion.

Student mobility is the central theme of Raghuram's (2013) paper, which focuses on several issues pertaining to debates about international students, with the basic premise that gaining an international degree is the main reason for ISM. King and Raghuram (2013) discuss several features in the debates on international education such as migration versus mobility; credit mobility and degree mobility; level of study; and subjects studied affecting the nature of ISM and experiences of mobility. Their paper focuses on the slipperiness of the term 'international student'. In another paper, King (2012) traces the influence of geographers in the field of Migration Studies from classic proponents of migration theories such as Ravenstein, Hägerstrand, and Zelinsky to the four main influences in more recent times, i.e. mobilities paradigm, transnationalism, diaspora, and gender and migration. Carlson's (2013) paper on 'becoming a mobile student' is helpful in understanding the processual nature of student mobility. The three main issues which Carlson (2013) enumerates as contributing to this 'becoming' are previous mobility experience, social embeddedness, and timing of specific events

which contribute to decision-making about migration. This type of migration has a distinct geography. In most cases, the migration is from the 'east' to the 'west' or from the global south to the global north. Recently, research has provided alternative views of ISM with studies focusing on student mobility from the UK to Europe (Findlay *et al*, 2006) and other countries (Waters *et al*, 2011), from Slovenia (Holloway *et al*, 2012) and other eastern European countries like Slovakia (Baláž and Williams, 2004) for relatively short durations. For students moving within Europe, time is an important factor, much like students belonging to the ERASMUS exchange programme. Other exchange students from the US to Europe or the UK (Janes, 2008) for example, do so for a semester. Although the amount of time spent in the 'host' country, among other factors, has a strong impact on the kind of experience the students will gain, what is more important and relevant for this discussion is that although these students experience new places and practices, they still remain within a broadly similar 'western' culture. For students moving from the global south to the global north their experience of a 'western' education is different from their American or European counterparts. This is due to the deeply embedded perception of the superiority of a 'western' education, arguably the result of a wider colonial project. Perhaps this is why there is a whole host of studies on the acculturation and culture shock for international students (Brown, 2009a; De Verthelyi, 1995; Brown and Holloway, 2008; Kashima and Loh, 2006), especially in Counselling and Guidance (Frey *et al*, 2006; Zhang and Dixon, 2003; Sawir *et al*, 2008), and Management of Higher Education (Sawir *et al*, 2009; Gribble, 2008; Paltridge *et al*, 2010). This 'deficit model' where international students from the 'east' are considered somewhat at a disadvantage in terms of their pedagogic and learning practices, situates them at the margin. This view of international students as outsiders is also related to the temporary nature of their stay. International students

usually return to their home countries upon completion of their courses. Immigration laws regarding Tier 4 students in the UK[2] are constantly revised and made more stringent which encourages international students to return to their home countries. But studies have shown that the decision to return or not to return is not a straightforward one and that it involves multiple mediations and a multitude of factors contribute to this decision (Alberts and Hazen, 2005).

The thesis adopts a positive approach by focussing on the different ways in which Indian students actively create a sense of home. This contrasts with the 'deficit model' because the aim is to adopt a postcolonial perspective by giving voice to the students to express their international experience. I explore the different ways in which feelings of home and belonging are expressed and experienced through different forms of socio-spatial interactions and negotiations in different everyday spaces. Home and belonging remain at the centre of my research on Indian students.

1.1. Rationale for the study

The thesis explores home and belonging for Indian students in London and Toronto within spaces of the city, university, and dwelling. Inspired by Heidegger's 1954 essay 'Building, Dwelling, Thinking' and later Young's (1997) feminist reading of home, I have chosen to use the term 'dwelling' to describe the residences in which students live. 'To dwell' indicates an interactive relationship between people, material objects, and

[2] According to the UK government website, www.gov.uk, someone can apply for a Tier 4 student visa if they meet the following criteria. They should be 16 years or over; they should have been offered a place in the university where they are applying; have sufficient funds to support them through the course of the study; can speak, read, and understand English; and they should not be a citizen of Switzerland or any other European Economic Area country.
Source: https://www.gov.uk/tier-4-general-visa/overview (Last accessed: October 11, 2015).

everyday activities in a particular place. The student dwellings in London and Toronto reflect such spatial interactions among (mostly) non-familial relations. A distinction is made with the term 'residence' as I understand 'residence' to mean a more permanent settlement situation and associated with primarily familial social relations. Besides, 'student residences' is a term broadly used to describe university-provided term-time accommodation in the UK. By using the term 'dwelling', my aim is to focus not only on the diversity of student accommodations but also to indicate the processual nature of the place where people live.

International students migrate to a 'foreign' country and encounter different socio-cultural situations in which they need to adjust in a short span of time. This is because students migrate for an international education and in order to 'fit in' to studying in a different country and academic system, they need to carve out a niche for themselves wherein they feel comfortable and 'at home'. The idea of 'home' therefore is an important aspect of their sojourn (in most cases) in their host country. By focussing on their everyday practices, I intend to unearth the "inherently ambiguous and indeterminate, something that is both everywhere yet nowhere, familiar at the same time as it escapes" (Gregory *et al*, 2009: 223). By locating the lives of (international) Indian students within the everyday spaces of the city, university, and dwelling, the research analyzes the experiences of migration, mobility, and transnationalism in the context of home. By focusing on aspects of home and belonging for international students in their new settings, my research contributes to the ongoing debates surrounding the inter-relationships between migration, home, belonging and identity.

Place-belonging is about imbuing a space with meaning. Meaning is created through social relations, memories, and engagements with the space in question. Thus, place-

making in the general sense is intimately related to spatialities. Spatiality is defined as the inter-relationship between social relations and space. Both have an impact on each other. Social relations include interactions with family (home spaces), friends, and strangers (city public spaces such as school or hanging out spaces), colleagues (work spaces), transnational connections (virtual spaces). All these spaces are rendered meaningful due to such interactions across different spaces and scales. Spaces and scales can be separated theoretically but not analytically. Their co-dependence is what makes place-belonging itself a socio-spatial and temporal process.

Antonsich (2010) discusses five factors which contribute to 'place-belongingness'. The autobiographical factor pertains to the personal history, memories, and social relations of an individual which create a sense of attachment to a particular place. The relational factor includes social and personal ties with friends and family as contributing to a sense of belonging. He further elaborates that 'weak ties' or occasional interaction with strangers in public spaces would not be sufficient to create long-lasting and stable relationships because the presence of interpersonal relations is crucial for individuals to feel 'at home' in a place. According to Mee (2009), individuals need to experience reciprocal affective qualities (such as care and concern for others' well-being) in order to create a sense of belonging. Everyday encounters (Amin, 2002) or interactions in micro-publics (Valentine, 2008) would not be enough to "generate a sense of connectedness" (Antonsich, 2010: 648) and hence, belonging. The third aspect which contributes to feelings of belonging is cultural, and language is most often used in 'politics of belonging' to distinguish between 'us' and 'them'. Sharing a common language can create a sense of community because language is not only a means to communicate but also to interpret situations and create meanings through "tacit codes, signs, and gestures" (Antonsich, 2010: 648). Other cultural practices, traditions, and

expressions such as religion and food production and consumption (Duruz, 2002) are equally important. The other two factors are economic and legal. Being employed in a country contributes to one's feeling of belonging because individuals feel that they have a stake in the future of the place where they live and pay taxes. Citizenship and resident permits are essential in generating a sense of security and this is considered by many as a significant aspect of 'belonging'. Antonsich (2010) astutely observes that a lack of place-belongingness does not mean exclusion. Instead, he advances the idea that "an absence of place-belongingness is a sense of loneliness, isolation, alienation and dis-placement" (Antonsich, 2010: 649). However, it is impossible to separate the political from place-belonging, mainly because feeling at home/not at home in a place cannot simply remain personal. It is also intensely social. This is particularly true for migrants who undergo a 'redefinition of place' (Kobayashi *et al*, 2013) without losing connections with their original place of belonging. Their sense of belonging is connected to feeling welcome in their new place of arrival. In this sense, belonging is increasingly understood as "a process (becoming) rather than a status (being)" (Antonsich, 2010: 652). This however, does not indicate a dialectical relationship between 'becoming' and 'being' but a synergetic and fluid concept. This is however, not to say that 'home' is always imbued with positive emotions. Brickell (2012) reminds us that critical geographies of home also deal with negative experiences which are related to homelessness, unhomeliness, and alienation. But Brickell's (2012) research focuses on the intersections between identity, power, and domestic(ated) spaces of the dwelling. My research extends the idea of being at home/not at home beyond the reaches of the domestic sphere and argues that home is 'stretched' (Ahmet, 2013) into other spatial contexts. The thesis focuses on the main idea that a place where we feel 'at home', a place where we can claim 'to belong' is intimately connected to our identities.

The three spaces that have been identified in order to explore ideas of home and belonging are the city, the educational institution[3], and dwelling. A close reading of Skelton and Valentine's (1998) *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures* and Peter Hopkins' (2010) *Young People, Place, and Identity* revealed that the three main everyday spaces which young people inhabit are their homes, their educational institutions, and urban spaces. Although students of this study do not always fall within the definition of 'young people', the academic literature on young people has been the cornerstone of my understanding of the everyday spaces inhabited by students. Different aspects of their identities are expressed in different places and the thesis aims to explore these spaces from the perspective of Indian international students.

Motivations for ISM are vague and difficult to formulate. This makes it difficult for international students to be categorized into any typology. Raghuram (2013) points out that international education is the main reason for international student migration and therefore the university is the first and, in most cases, the sole point of contact between international students and their 'host' society and culture. This contradicts Mazzarol and Soutar's (2002) claim that motivations for ISM are definitely not limited to educational goals and that they also seek to understand the culture of their 'host' countries and look for opportunities for travel. Links between education and tourism have not been fully investigated empirically and need further research. Ritchie *et al* (2003) claim that international students can and should be considered tourists because their activities indicate that they are tourism-related even though officially, their

[3] For the sake of brevity, I shall use 'university' to denote this space. This neither oversimplifies the diverse nature of higher education institutions nor privileges the position of the Indian international student. However, I acknowledge that this is in keeping with the education system in India where tertiary education is mostly conducted in universities or in colleges which are affiliated to universities. Since my study is about postgraduate students, referring to the educational institution as university seems apt in this case.

primary aim is education/learning. Hence, they should be considered 'educational tourists' (Huang, 2008). Beech (2013) includes imagination as away to understand motivations for ISM. The reason behind mobility of international students to acquire 'western' education has been studied through the lens of social capital (Waters, 2006b) and postcolonial pathways (Raghuram & Madge, 2006). More recently, Gopinath (2014) has conceptualized the motivation and mobility of Indian students for an international education through the concept of 'controlled mobility' and 'emergent mobility'. However, the reasons behind the choice of a university or destination country (Llewellyn-Smith and McCabe, 2008) are not straight-forward. This relates to Raghuram's (2013) theorization of international student mobility wherein she argues that knowledge acquisition is the distinctive feature of student mobility globally and that space is central to this knowledge production in three ways. According to Raghuram (2013), 'knowledge as a global commodity' positions certain 'centres of knowledge' through power structures, technologies and circulation with 'individuals' (i.e. international students) as actors and agents of the production and re-production of knowledge. This conceptual framework is useful in understanding the 'how' and the 'why' of student migration.

Studies of intercultural contact specifically pertaining to a multicultural campus have pointed out the importance of friendship networks for international students. In a recent study, contradicting Raghuram's (2013) theorization, Beech (2014) argues that social networks are not secondary but the primary reason behind mobility of international students. But understanding ISM at the scale of the individual student is far from straight-forward. Huang (2008) suggests that research should consider the complete international student experience (and not just their academic experience) in order to get a more nuanced insight into their everyday lives. As Raghuram (2013)

pointed out, students negotiate multiple subjectivities which span different scales. Exploring different subjectivites of international students will contribute to a more nuanced understanding of their everyday lived realities. So, apart from education and social networks, other aspects of their identities such as being a spouse, also play an important role in their international education experience. However, this is perhaps true of all international student experiences and what is unique about Indian students will be understood through a comparative lens. This approach foregrounds place as a significant factor in shaping experiences and identities. Being at home and creating a home within different spatial contexts is key to understanding the multi-layered identities of international students. The thesis will disentangle the ways in which students create a sense of home and belonging during their stay in a 'foreign' country.

Recently, studies about other sending countries like the UK, other European countries, and USA have emerged, which shift our conventional understanding of ISM from the 'east' to the 'west'. Since the geography of higher education largely pertains to mobility of students from the global south to the global north or from the 'east' to the 'west', most studies focus on students from East Asia like China, Hong Kong, Japan, and South Korea, and south east Asia like Singapore and the Philippines. Contributing further to the research on the 'east' to 'west' mobility of international students, studies on Indian students have been mostly based in Australia. Baas (2010), Voigt-Graf (2003), and Robertson (2009) have studied Indian students in Australia but mainly focus on issues related to immigration. In the Canadian and UK context, Geddie's (2012) research on internationalization of higher education with particular focus on transnational educational degrees does not solely focus on Indian students, but her study includes interviews with Indian students. Nevertheless, considering the large volume of scholarship on international students, Indian students still remain a widely

under-researched group. This is a surprising lacuna in the literature considering that there are 22,385 Indian students (in 2012-2013) in UK[4] and 31,665 Indian students studying in Canada in 2013[5]. India steadily holds second place after China among the sending countries. Gopinath (2014) points out further that in 2020, India will have the largest number of young people in the world. This would mean that the Indian youth would be the largest employable population considering that the students currently studying abroad are expected to return to India because of the tightening of immigration laws in UK, for example. Not only will 'brain drain' hold a greater significance but the returning students would also be faced with the pressure of employability. Besides, the returning population will have accrued social and (potential) economic capital in the form of an international degree. Important questions about the utilization of this capital and the transferability of the degrees will be raised. In such a social and economic climate, it is important to understand the everyday nuances of the lives of Indian international students during their stay in a foreign country because an international experience has a wide-ranging impact on their identities (Rizvi, 2005). Besides, recently, racist attacks on Indian students in Australia have raised several eyebrows in academic circles (Baas, 2014) and in governments because this has a direct impact on international relations. Learning about everyday lives of Indian students will help to demystify negative ideas about international students.

Large numbers of Indian students migrate to different countries to gain an international degree and as Baas' (2010) study of Indian students in Australia reveals, place plays an important role in students' experiences of their international education.

[4]Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/Info-for-universities-colleges-schools/Policy-research-statistics/Research-Statistics/International-students-in-UK-HE/#Top-non-EU-sending-countries (Last accessed: 13th July, 2015)
[5]Source: http://www.iie.org/en/Services/Project-Atlas/Canada/International-Students-in-Canada (Last accessed: 13th July, 2015)

The socio-spatial relationships that people have with place depend on several variables such as immigration laws, length of stay, location of residence, and social and friendship networks. In order to understand the significance that place plays in the students' experiences, my study focuses on two destination countries— the UK and Canada. Owing to postcolonial links, the UK has traditionally been the country where Indian students migrate for purposes of education and Canada has steadily gained ground and is currently among the top five choices for Indian students. While the USA remains the top destination country for Indian students, international student migration to Canada has steadily increased (Gopinath, 2014).

International student numbers are rapidly increasing. There are 4.5 million students worldwide (in 2014); an increase from 3.4 million students[6] in 2009; and which had further increased from 2.7 million students (Kell & Vogl, 2008) in 2006 and 2.1 million in 2002[7]. Usually, international students have a distinct spatiality with the majority moving from developing countries to developed countries (Altbach, 2004), with the four main destinations being USA, UK, Canada, and Australia. The Institute of International Education website (www.iie.org) provides valuable statistical information about the mobility of students across the globe. Although the USA still remains the top destination country, the percentage of students has decreased from 28% in 2001 to 19% in 2011. The UK continues to hold the second place among the host countries with an increase from 11% in 2001 to 12% in 2011. While countries like Germany, France, and Australia hold their positions as destination countries, China and Canada have entered the competition with the former contributing 7% and the latter 5% of the

[6]Source: http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/research-trends-international-student-mobility-education-2012-en.pdf (Last accessed: 14th June, 2013)
[7]Source: http://www.uis.unesco.org/Library/Documents/research-trends-international-student-mobility-education-2012-en.pdf (Last accessed: 14th June, 2013)

total number. According to the Canada Immigration website[8], in 2005, it hosted 2,208 students from India, which has increased to 14,049 in 2011. China remains the top sending country with 7,319 students in 2005, increasing to 21,814 students in 2011. In the UK[9] too, India ranks second among the non-EU sending countries, after China. According to the UKCISA, there were 67,325 Chinese international students in 2010-2011 which increased to 78,715 in 2011-2012. As for Indian students, there has been a decrease from 39,090 students in 2010-2011 to 29,900 in 2011-2012 (perhaps owing to the removal of the post-study work scheme[10]). In Canada[11], Toronto had the largest number of foreign students in 2011 (26,935) followed by Vancouver with 24,401 foreign students. Toronto also had the highest percentage of foreign students (27%) in 2011[12], which had increased from 19.4% in 2005. Similarly, according to the UKCISA website (www.ukcisa.org.uk), London hosts the highest percentage (26%) of international students (non-UK) among English regions[13] in 2011-2012. The colleges of the University of London[14] contribute to the highest percentage of international students in the city with LSE leading with 67% of its total students, followed by Imperial and UAL (41%), UCL (39%) and KCL (25%). Postgraduate taught courses were the most popular with a total of 123,520 international students and 30,275 postgraduate research students enrolled in 2011-2012[15]. In Canada too, 40% of incoming international students held a university degree in 2011 which also indicated

[8]Source: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2011/temporary/13.asp (Last accessed: 16th April, 2013)
[9]Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_he.php (Last accessed: 16th April, 2013)
[10] http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/visas-immigration/working/tier1/poststudy/ (Last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)
[11]Source: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2011/temporary/13.asp (Last accessed: 16th April, 2013)
[12]Source: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2011/temporary/15.asp (Last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)
[13] Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_he.php (last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)
[14] Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_he.php (Last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)
[15] Source: http://www.ukcisa.org.uk/about/statistics_he.php (Last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)

that they were enrolled in post-graduate courses[16]. These emerging trends clearly suggest the need to consider a comparative approach in understanding ISM not only among the top receiving countries but other nations in the 'west'.

Considering the trends in student migration to these countries, the UK and Canada were chosen because the aim was to capture the similarities and differences in the lived experiences of Indian students in two scenarios—in the UK where there is a significant Indian student presence and in Canada, where Indian students have only recently started to migrate. By adopting a comparative approach to the lives of Indian students, my study seeks to understand the significance of place in London and Toronto—two cities which have a common colonial history but which have developed differently in a post-colonial era.

From a postcolonial perspective, the two cities have a direct and indirect colonial heritage. London was the colonial centre while Canada occupied a problematic position of being neither the colonized nor the colonizer as it was a white settler colony. London has historically hosted students from India (Lahiri, 1999) and evidence of Indian students' presence in Toronto was found from textual analysis of Canadian English newspapers of 1947 (Roy, 2014). In the present postcolonial context, the multi-sited research revealed the impact of place on Indian students' migration decisions and on their mobility pathways. More importantly, the research has examined whether historical and spatial (imaginative) connections which Indian students have (or do not have) with the two countries inform their everyday experiences. In the post-colonial age, London has arguably emerged as a 'global city' (Datta, 2012) with a cosmopolitan and multicultural population. London hosts a large number of international students

[16]Source: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2011/temporary/17.asp (Last accessed: 23rd April, 2013)

and the University of London is the biggest recruiter of international students in the UK. Toronto, on the other hand, is considered a 'gateway city' (Price and Benton-Short, 2008) for immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. It also has a multicultural population with urban ethnic enclaves but it does not host as many students as London. Besides, the immigration policies for international students in the UK are much more stringent than Canada as evidenced from the fact that in Canada, international students are allowed to apply for permanent residency status. In April 2010, the post-study work (PSW) permit for Tier 4 students in UK was revoked, positioning the UK at the opposite end of the immigration spectrum. The PSW was a useful means through which international students could gain relevant work experience after completing their studies from a UK university, and, arguably, was the motivation for migration for many international students. Such differences in immigration policies, for example, have an impact on the lived experience of being an international student in the two countries, pointing to the importance of place. Antonsich (2010) argues that an attachment to place or place-belonging can be orchestrated by being employed in a country.

Since the focus of my study is to understand the different ways in which Indian students experience the two cities, the most relevant study is by Gough (2012) on young people in three cities of Recife, Hanoi, and Lusaka. Gough's (2012) research revealed that they experience the three cities differently. In order to understand the value of adopting a comparative research approach, Gough (2012) asks four pertinent questions regarding comparative urban studies, and which also shape my understanding of comparative urban research. The first question is regarding the reason for conducting a comparative studies approach. Gough (2012) argues that a comparative approach helps us understand the phenomenon from a different perspective. By

focusing on diversity of experience, several aspects of urban life can be unearthed which might be otherwise overlooked. In my study, the two cities have been selected mainly because I would like to avoid generalizing experiences of Indian students in the two cities. The similarities and differences of experiences in the two cities will reveal the importance of viewing the city not only as an assemblage of spaces and places but also as an interactive relationship between the social and the spatial or in other words, thinking of the urban as a way of life. This answers the third question put across by Gough (2012), which is 'what are we looking at when we are comparing?' Regarding how one can conduct comparative urban research, the answer lies in taking a methodological approach by remaining flexible and mindful of the "nature of the urban encountered and the unexpected in the field" (Gough, 2012: 875). Although this is true of all research. Gough (2012) adopts an inductive approach and emphasizes the need to be more cautious about how the information may lead the researcher towards its implications in theory.

My study has also taken an inductive approach as a way to understand the experiences of the students in the two cities. The socioeconomic background, location of their residence, gender, and mobility of the young people of Gough's (2012) study influenced their knowledge and experience of the city. The answer to the question about whose city we as researchers are attempting to understand is embedded within the various aspects of identities of the young people in Recife, Hanoi, and Lusaka. Similarly, in my study of Indian students in London and Toronto, the aim is to acknowledge and unearth the complexities of urban-ness and to think about Robinson's (2011) 'spatial imaginaries' which "offer the possibility for us to grasp the complex, distributed, and emergent ways in which "urban-ness" circulates, mutates,

embeds, and dis-embeds, differentiates and repeats, creates convergences or generates difference" (Jacobs, 2012: 911).

1.2. Research questions

The aim of the research is to deepen and broaden understandings of home and belonging in the context of international higher education. As has already been discussed, Indian students who travel abroad for an international degree are only marginally present within research on international students[17], although they contribute significantly to the growing number of international students globally. What is also missing from the research is a discussion of the experiences of 'home' in the context of migration for international students, and more specifically for Indian students. I aim to address this gap by focussing on student geographies in everyday spaces of the city, university, and dwelling. These three spaces have been identified as the three kinds of spaces that young people (Hopkins, 2010) frequent in their everyday lives. Even though Collins (2009, 2012) addresses some of these issues, ideas about 'home' and 'belonging' both locally and transnationally have not been scrutinized in the context of international students.

The main research question is:

> How do international students from India understand and experience 'home' and 'belonging' in the everyday spaces of the city, university, and dwelling?

The two sub-questions which help to further elaborate the main question are:

[17] Some recent studies by Voigt-Graf (2003), Baas (2006, 2010, 2014), Robertson (2010, 2011), Sondhi (2013), Caluya *et al* (2011), and Singh (2011) are notable exceptions.

- How do the students make themselves at home in the three spaces?
- Which aspects of their identities are revealed through these home-making practices?

In order to understand the everyday lives of the students, a combination of three methods were selected. Semi-structured in-depth interviews, solicited diaries, and self-directed photography elucidated the everyday lives of Indian students in London and Toronto. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

1.3. Outline of chapters

Chapters Two and Three contextualize the research by discussing the theoretical and methodological background of the study respectively. Chapter Two is a review of the literature on international students as situated within the three spaces of the city, university, and dwelling. Chapter Three is a detailed discussion of the methods used and methodologies that inform the study, notably semi-structured in-depth interviews, solicited diaries and self-directed photography. This chapter also includes a reflexive account of the different stages of the research (pre-fieldwork, fieldwork, and post-fieldwork). The focus of Chapter Four is a discussion of the lives of Indian students in India, to contextualize their everyday lives 'back home' and to allow a deeper understanding of the differences and similarities in their spatialities as a result of migration to UK and Canada. The chapter also questions the category of the 'Indian student' in the context of international education. Chapter Five begins with the students' arrival in London and Toronto and the ways in which they experience these cities and how they create a sense of home/not home within the urban fabric. The next spatial scale is the university, which is a crucial part of their lives, as higher education is, in most cases, the main reason for their migration. The university as a place for higher

education is the focus of Chapter Six. The chapter studies the Indian students' experience of the university as a multi-layered pedagogic, social, and - for those who live on campus - residential space and how the notions of home/not home are worked and re-worked through everyday spatial practices. Chapter Seven directs attention to the next spatial scale, the dwelling space(s). Creating a sense of home within the space of the dwelling is actively achieved through memories, senses, emotions, and material objects. Finally, Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by integrating and synthesizing the broader themes and observations. It also maps the different contours of the research onto the wider landscape of international student geographies, of home and belonging.

CHAPTER TWO

Contextualizing International Students: A Literature Review

Introduction

> ... home is a *relation* between material and imaginative realms and processes, whereby physical locations and materiality, feelings and ideas, are bound together and influence each other, rather than separate and distinct. Moreover, home is a *process* of creating and understanding forms of dwelling and belonging. Home is lived as well as imagined. What home means and how it is materially manifest are continually created and re-created through everyday home-making practices, which are themselves tied to spatial imaginaries of home. (Blunt and Dowling, 2006: 254; emphases in original).

As Blunt and Dowling (2006) write, home is an abstract concept as well as a tangible one. It is imaginative, material, and lived, spanning feelings, ideas and experiences. It is a process of being at a certain place at a particular time while staying connected to other times and places. Home encompasses different times and places and social relations and weaves together multiple narratives located in multiple places. Needless to say, the complex and multi-dimensional nature of home makes it difficult to understand, articulate, and express. For the purpose of the thesis, I focus on the aspect of home which relates to the idea of 'place-belonging', which pertains to the claim 'I belong here' (Antonsich, 2010). Antonsich defines 'place-belonging' as a "personal, intimate, private sentiment of place attachment (sense of belonging), which is built up and grows out of everyday practices [...] to belong means to find a place where an individual can feel 'at home"'(Antonsich, 2010: 645-646). Here, home is identified as a symbolic space (with also material and physical implications) and infused with positive

attachment induced by (the presence or absence of) familiarity, safety, and comfort; and it is also understood as a process.

Since the main aim of the research is to understand and explore student geographies of 'home' and 'belonging' as experienced, practised, and negotiated in the everyday spaces of the city, the university, and the dwelling, I begin this chapter by reviewing the literature on international students broadly and Indian students more specifically. In the rest of the chapter, I direct attention to experiences of home and belonging in the spaces of the city (Section 2.2.), the university (Section 2.3.) and dwelling (Section 2.4.). I will explore the multitudinous ways in which young people, students, and international students experience these spaces in their everyday lives as a way to situate the experiences of Indian students.

2.1. Introducing international students and Indian students

The earliest work on Indian students in Britain is Amar Kumar Singh's (1963) book *Indian Students in Britain: A Survey of their Adjustment and Attitudes*. He charted the different adjustment issues faced by Indian students in Oxford and Cambridge. It is a valuable study because it gives the reader an insight into the everyday lives of Indian students in 1960s Britain. Some of the ideas discussed in Singh's (1963) study which mainly dealt with adjustment difficulties arising out of cultural and linguistic differences have been the subject of majority of studies on international students. They can broadly be termed the 'deficit discourse' (Montgomery and McDowell, 2009). The 'deficit discourse' positions international students at a disadvantage. Some recent studies, while not specifically referring to the 'deficit discourse', have focused on several issues faced by international students. This idea encompasses issues related to 'culture shock'

(Brown and Holloway, 2008), friendships with home students (Brown, 2009a), their 'adjustment journey' as a transformative experience (Brown, 2009b), pre-departure concerns (Brown and Aktas, 2012), meanings attached to food (Brown *et al*, 2010), and racism (Brown and Jones, 2013). Issues related to security have also been the focus of recent studies based in Australia (Baas, 2014) and 'pastoral care' of students in New Zealand (Sawir *et al*, 2009, Lewis, 2005).

Studies in the UK on international students have focused on a broad range of topics and geographers have, over the past decade, become increasingly interested in geographies of children, youth, and students[18] including a number of review articles on student geographies (Holton and Riley, 2013), and geography and education (Holloway *et al*, 2010; Holloway *et al*, 2012; Holloway and Jöns, 2012). Spatialities of young people (Evans, 2008) have also been brought under careful scrutiny with some recent publications focusing, for example, on their im/mobilities (Harker, 2009; Skelton, 2009; Skelton and Gough, 2013). In the 2011 special issue of *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, Johanna Waters and Rachel Brooks introduced five papers on the topic of sociology of education. The diversity of the discussion on 'plurality of space' (Waters and Brooks, 2011: 155) associated with education lent support to the significance of a dialogic relationship between educationalists, geographers, sociologists, policy makers, and educational practitioners. The significance of space also adds another dimension to interconnections between education and learning (Waters and Brooks, 2011).

'Learning' is not limited to formal curricula but also includes social and experiential learning through interactions in communities and encounters with 'difference'. My study conceptualizes migration as a form of learning by focusing on the overall

[18] This is marked by the journal *Children's Geographies* celebrating a decade of circulation in 2013.

experience (Huang, 2008) of an international sojourn (in most cases) for international students. By focusing on 'student-centred geographies' (Holloway *et al*, 2012), I also consider the significance of 'community' as spatial practice. Further, I connect spaces of learning and education to ideas of home and belonging by considering different scales at which home is experienced by international students. Since 'home' is conceptualized as processual, the multiple subjectivities of Indian students are both comparable and yet, distinct from other international students. Fincher and Shaw (2011) discuss how international students' (available) choices of residences within the city create a social gap between their domestic counterparts. Their study does not explore the emotional geographies of cities and how that affects feelings of home and belonging. Their study also does not consider that international students are also tourists (Huang, 2008) who seek out both familiar and unfamiliar places as part of the 'home-making' project. Collins (2008a) discusses the home as a space for socializing with co-national friends among Korean international students but does not consider how student residences can also be spaces where 'difference' is encountered. Collins (2009a) considers the internet as a means through which Korean international students in Auckland maintain communication with their loved ones back home. But, migration may involve more intense personal interactions on the internet, for example, using video chat (Longhurst, 2013) and this can be explored in the context of international students. Practises of home and belonging dis/similar to other transmigrants (Walsh, 2006; 2011) will further illustrate the multi-layered nature of Indian students' identities.

Baas' (2010) study centres upon the immigration aspirations of Indian students and how these shape their experiences of an international education. Indian students in Baas' (2010) research seemed more focused on getting permanent residency in Australia and chose universities which would grant them the degrees which would

allow them to apply for an Australian residency status. Voigt-Graf (2003) also concludes that Indian students in Australia migrate with the goal of immigrating permanently or as a step towards later immigration to the US. Robertson (2011b) reports a similar finding about Indian students in Australia. Her research also indicates that Indian students 'switch' visas during their stay in the country. In a more recent article, Baas (2014) explores the allegedly racist attacks on Indian students in Australia and how these are viewed by other Indian students as well as the media. In Melbourne, Indian student numbers have drastically declined in colleges as a result of the recent attacks. Singh's (2011) study also revealed that half the students of her research in Melbourne had experienced racism in some form. The picture of the Indian student is in keeping with Baas' (2006, 2010) study claiming that they maintained transnational ties with family in India while attempting to establish local ties with Australians. On the one hand, multiculturalism is lived and experienced by Indian students and on the other hand, they are not co-opted within the wider Indian community. Baas' (2010) study revealed that the Indian community in Australia viewed Indian students as a group which was opportunistic as opposed to the hard-working immigrant.

Not only race, but gender also affects the way international education is experienced, as has been revealed by Sondhi's (2013) research on Indian students in Canada and UK. Sondhi's (2013) throws light on the gender aspects of ISM. Sondhi (2013) discusses how power relations are negotiated and experienced differently by male and female Indian students in Toronto. She argues that the men face more difficulties in situating themselves within the Canadian context than their female counterparts. Adopting the 'patrifocal' lens, Sondhi (2013) claims that Indian men are at a higher position of power in India. This is destabilized upon their arrival in Canada where they struggle to fit in. The women on the other hand, feel more empowered in Canada because they have no

restrictions on their spatial mobility and are able to exert their agency among their peers. In fact, the women appeared to be more reluctant to return to India because they would lose their sense of freedom and autonomy upon return, whereas, the men were more interested in returning because they felt they fitted in better in India. These varied power relations, not only between different social groups but also within the category of 'Indian student', expose the multi-layered nature of Indian students' subjectivities.

2.2. Students and city spaces

In her research on urban spatialities of young men of mixed descent in London, Ahmet (2013) explores notions of masculinity and home spaces by considering home as 'stretched' beyond the walls of the dwelling. One of the key characteristics of Blunt and Dowling's (2006) critical geography of home is its multi-scalar nature. This extends 'home' beyond the house to include the nation and empire, and transnational homes. Fincher (2004) focuses on the city of Melbourne where domestic activities such as eating are 'stretched' by women without children as part of a broader lifestyle. Rose (2003) discusses the significance of photographs through which women extend the domestic space beyond the home. In another example, the neighbourhood is imagined as a homely space through mothering practices (Dyck, 1990). More recently, Gorman-Murray (2014) explicates how gay men consider traditionally public spaces such as bars as homely spaces where they are able to express their identities more fully and without fear of rejection. Ahmet (2013) contributes to the already vibrant debates surrounding the definition of home being conflated with the house and how it is 'stretched' to include other spaces of the city. In Ahmet's (2013) research, experiences of autonomy and identity are understood through the lens of privacy, control, and freedom. The study reveals that young men's definition of home depends upon how they experience

and perceive the parental home. Here, home is viewed as a mobile concept since public spaces of the city are considered by the participants of Ahmet's (2013) study as homely spaces. This is a useful way to conceptualize international students' interactions with urban spaces. Like the international students of Fincher and Shaw's (2011) study in Melbourne, the young men of Ahmet's (2013) research also preferred to 'hang out' with their friends in specific places in the city. Tani's (2015) 'geographies of hanging out' affords some overlaps between the everyday spatial practices of urban spaces. Although Tani's (2015) study is also based on young people (in Helsinki), the similarities between the different groups indicate that friendship/social networks is the connecting factor between these diverse groups of people. 'Hanging out' is understood as an interaction between the different places and the people in it, in most cases, young people. Through the process of 'hanging out', different meanings are attached to places not only by the people who practise them, but also by people who view these interactions (Tani, 2015).

The ways in which urban spaces are experienced vary between different people. Even within the same city, experiences differ depending on a number of factors. One of these factors is whether the student is a 'day student' or one who lives locally, in their parents' home, or a non-local student, who is from out of town and lives in residences. In this respect, Holton's (2014) study on the sense of place and the city throws light on the different ways in which 'day students' and non-local students experience the city. Holton's (2014) study based in the UK about local students' experiences of the city revealed the challenges they faced in 'fitting in' with their peer groups in university as their social lives changed. The complex articulations of place indicated how meanings attached to places change with time. Local students experienced varied levels of attachment and disassociation with places because they constantly had to negotiate the

changes they encountered. Disruption of familiar places as their interpretations altered was one of the ways in which familiar places were re-imagined. For example, places which were previously visited with parents in their childhood and imbued with childhood memories were places which they inhabited with their friends. Similarly, as students, several 'new places' opened up such as campus spaces or the students' union. Students appeared to be vulnerable to the changes that were taking place in their social lives. Their views of the city (which they knew so well) seemed unfamiliar because of the changing social dynamics and the changing ways in which familiar places were inhabited.

Conradson and Latham's (2007) research is about the ways in which New Zealanders experience their lives in London, with the focus mainly on the 'affective possibilities' of the city. Conradson and Latham (2007) conceptualize affect as connections between bodies, objects, and materials. They theorize cities as offering opportunities for "new modes of feeling and being" (Conradson and Latham, 2007: 235). Subjectivities and mobility intertwine in this way of thinking about cities, mainly because 'home' is imagined as constituting a sense of 'becoming'. The New Zealanders of their study do not experience a disenchantment or rejection of their identities 'back home' but a re-organizing of 'home' through encounters with divergent cultures. Encounters are central to their understanding of affect. Interaction and engagement with several aspects of migration such as social and physical distance from familiar cultures 'back home' contribute to the 'affective possibilities' of London. The main attraction for young New Zealanders to go abroad for an 'overseas experience' is the potential transformation of the self as a result of mobility to countries such as Australia, Canada, USA, but mainly the UK. An 'overseas experience' is characterized by a period of living

and working abroad. Mobility, then, is intimately connected to selfhood as well as to affect.

In the context of transnational migrants from Hong Kong in Canada, Kobayashi *et al* (2011) discuss the importance of 'affect' in redefining place and in turn, creating a sense of belonging in their new environments. For the children of immigrants who were Canadian by birth, feeling at home within the city was an important way in which they equated feeling at home in the nation. The study is based on immigrants' interaction with various suburbs, which is their primary social setting. Home, in this case, is also not defined by the physical space of the house but includes the suburbs and the natural environment. Interconnections between place and 'affect' or how places have the capacity to evoke certain emotions is discussed. Hong Kong immigrants relate the 'natural' environment of the suburbs with a better quality of life. They compare this with their lives in Hong Kong. Here, the immigrants emphasize that "home as a place of security for the family" (2011: 879) was a significant factor in generating positive feelings towards their life in Canada. They equate their home ownership, despite financial difficulties and concerns, as a fulfilling experience, even if it meant an increased load of housework as they could not continue the practice of employing a domestic help as they would have done in Hong Kong. While a general sense of well-being appears to be the dominant discourse among the immigrants, it is nevertheless, clearly shaped by the age and gender of the immigrants. Some housewives battled loneliness and boredom in the very houses which were capable of providing a sense of security and achievement among the immigrant families. In this case, 'natural' does not simply refer to the physical environment but 'natural-ness' is linked to a more peaceful, stress-free lifestyle. The younger generation mention how their family lives were much more meaningful in Canada, with better communication between family members

because the parents have more time to spend with the children. Simultaneously, they also yearn to return to the hustle-bustle of Hong Kong life, which is a contrast to the quietude of a suburban lifestyle. However, the importance of the family and other social ties with friends and the community in general infused the neighbourhood with meaning. The neighbourhood is therefore, considered an affectual place. This is signified by the regular and in some cases, more intense interaction with other Chinese and more specifically, other immigrants from Hong Kong. So, what is apparent from the discussion is that the binary relationship between familiar and unfamiliar is fluid and complex and by foregrounding affect, this study reveals different articulations of what constitutes 'home'.

The ways in which immigrants experience belonging in different cities is the focus of Glick-Schiller's (2012) study. Glick-Schiller (2012) refers to the ways in which immigrants experienced Paris, Halle/Salle and Dallas. Although the cities are all located in developed countries, they adopted three different approaches for migrant settlement. While Dallas focused on rebranding the city into a centre for computer technology, thereby attracting economic skilled migrants, Paris was more concerned with projecting cultural diversity as a positive aspect of neoliberal restructuring. The German city of Halle on the other hand, adopted different policies which catered to immigrants as the city's economic growth was the central aim. As a result of these various attempts at global repositioning of the cities, the migrants' relationship with their local environments or their assimilation into the urban social fabric varied in the three cities. The study reveals the complex relationship between migrants and cities and how a comparative approach of studying cities with varying approaches to migrant settlement can provide a richer and more nuanced understanding of their experiences. At the

macro level, a comparative approach to cities and their migrants can have several policy implications. At the micro level, it situates immigrants within the discourse on immigration. Collins (2012) introduces the concept of 'permanent temporariness' to include temporary migrants within discussions on urban spatialities of migrants.

Collins (2012) critically evaluates the marked difference in the urban spatialities of permanent migrants and temporary migrants such as international students. He also focuses on cities in the Asia-Pacific in order to demonstrate certain similarities and dissimilarities with the current understanding of migrant experiences in the city in other areas of the world. He uses the 'ethnic enclave' as the starting point and as an analytical tool to unearth the urban spatialities in the everyday lives of 'permanently temporary' migrants. He proposes that such migrants be considered as urban citizens capable of transforming urban landscapes, not least because they are an embodiment of cultural/ethnic difference and 'rupture'. He points in the direction of the transformation of the landscape of Auckland as a result of the continued presence of Korean international students. Collins' (2012) study directs our attention to urban belonging as an everyday practice among transnational migrants for "the discursive production of urban space" (Collins, 2012: 320). Their ways of knowing the urban environment was mainly by sharing knowledge with other Korean students. Collins' (2004) paper focuses more on how the urban fabric has been transformed in downtown Auckland owing to the continued presence of Korean students. The residential choices of the Korean students affect the CBD in ways which connect student mobilities with the urban form (Collins, 2010). His research findings show that initially students live in homestays but later move out and live in shared houses with other Korean students. This is mainly attributed to cultural distance between them and

their homestay families. Collins (2010) explores different ways in which Korean students experience Auckland with the help of friendship networks.

Friendship networks are an important aspect of international student experience and this is manifest in the interaction between local students. Fincher and Shaw (2011) describe limited mobility networks and practices of international students in Melbourne. Upon arrival, international students are allocated residences in the centre of Melbourne which reduces their interaction with local or home students. International students either remain clustered in purpose-built housing or live in expensive apartments in the centre of the city. The other housing option is to live in homestay further away from the university and in the suburb. In that case, they commute to the university. Due to the location of most of the student housing in the inner city area, international students are more exposed to rowdy behaviour, all-night entertainment spaces, and even encounters with crime and racism. The locational factor therefore has a wide-ranging impact on students' image of the city. Fincher and Shaw (2011) also discuss the different spatialities associated with certain groups of students along with positive or negative connotations. Since their study draws comparison between domestic and international students from Asia, their findings indicate that the locational, institutional, and social factors shape the experiences of international students.

2.3. University spaces and 'home'

Ideally, the campus should be an environment that can be experienced as a conglomeration of places where students can be inspired; where they can discover,

reflect, form communities, and take greater responsibility for their own learning at many levels. According to Edwards (2000),

> rationality alone does not create a sense of place which is the essence of a university. [...]To be truly a university there is a contract with learning (as against teaching), with a sense of a community of scholars [...] It is a place, identifiable as such through built fabric and urban space, which express these higher aspirations. (Edwards, 2000: 36)

Comprising of learning and social spaces, university campuses which are located within a city can be considered a microcosm within an urban space. Montgomery and McDowell (2009) use the concept of 'community of practice' to theorize the importance of social networks in international students' learning experiences. The term 'community of practice' was first coined by Lave and Wenger (1991) and has since been applied most successfully in the field of education. In the context of urban citizenship and community building, Coward (2012) explains that traditionally, community has come to mean a bonding between different entities which results in a collective. This collective entity becomes larger than the individual entities because of something common that the individuals share between themselves. Keeping this idea of community in mind, it is easier to grapple with the abstract notion of 'community of practice' in the context of education. International students form a community through the common experience of being in a 'foreign' country. They face similar issues inside and outside the classroom. But 'community of practice' envisions learning as a 'situated activity' wherein knowledge and skills are acquired through participation in social and cultural activities of the community (McDowell and Montgomery, 2006). The members of the community and in this case, international students, gain academic competence by sharing their knowledge, supporting each other in their academic pursuits, and even helping each other adjust with the different pedagogic practices. Brown's (2009c)

research also suggests that co-national friendships among international students help in creating a sense of home. This is achieved through speaking the same language to combat homesickness. Caluya *et al*'s (2011) paper is about hearing Indian students' voices and how they view themselves and their Australian education, and the affective qualities of the education. The research article problematizes the 'Indian student' by showing that class and regional differences lead to differing lived experiences. Caluya *et al*'s (2011) findings indicate that on the one hand, there are students who came to Australia with aspirations of immigrating and mostly have co-national friends, on the other hand, highly educated students (usually postgraduate) have more Australian friends. They consider an Australian education incomplete without an accompanying international exposure, and they believe that one of the ways in which this can be sought is through interactions with local students. Friends also provide practical help in negotiating everyday encounters with difference, thereby preparing them for 'global citizenship' (McDowell and Montgomery, 2006). International students seldom consider living and working in their 'host' countries after completion of their degrees. It is in this respect that having a strong social network where they are comfortable sharing their trials and triumphs of inter-cultural contact helps them to understand a global community. Montgomery and McDowell's (2009) study emphasizes that the social aspect of learning is not an outcome but the foundation of an international student experience. Their study also provides two counter views about international students. First, empirically, they demonstrate that the social network of international students is not limited to co-national friends as Bochner *et al*'s (1985) seminal work on friendship networks of international students, suggested. It also reveals the more nuanced learning experiences of international students. Second, their research also reveals that having limited interaction with domestic students or 'host nationals'

(Hendrickson *et al*, 2011) does not necessarily disadvantage international students. Instead, Montgomery and McDowell's (2009) study indicates that international students have a strong social foundation which helps enrich their international experience. Holdsworth's (2006) research also explores the importance of friendship networks as one of the ways in which students adapt to their new environment, and make themselves at home. Gill (2007) argues that intercultural contact may lead to intercultural learning if the learners engage in self-reflection. He identifies the cyclical process of intercultural learning as a transformative experience by conceptualization and meaning construction leading to engagement with social and cultural practices that result in personal growth.

While Montgomery and McDowell (2009) emphasize the importance of a community for a holistic international student experience, Wickford and Wright (2006) focus attention on the importance of design in creating such 'learning spaces' (Oblinger, 2006) because it can be argued that the enterprise of (even online) learning is based on the premise of a community. When the members of a community, and in this case, students meaningfully communicate and understand each other beyond several linguistic and cultural barriers, it leads to true learning (Wickford and Wright, 2006). For successful interaction of this kind, spaces should be able to generate a feeling of belonging to the particular space in question, whether it is a traditionally academic space such as a classroom or a non-academic space such as a café or bar. Exploring the idea of 'inhabitation' and 'homeliness' in two very disparate architectural designs (and functions), Kraftl and Adey's (2008) study provides a rich discussion of the affectual qualities of buildings and built environments in relation to people using them. They theorize 'inhabitation' as creating a situation where a body is able to reside while also

"supplying the perceptive body with a set of possible actions or movements to perform" (Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 227). The triadic relationship between architecture, affect, and inhabitation draws on ideas of home and homeliness by comparing two buildings—a kindergarten school and an airport prayer room. Both these buildings are studied as examples where affect is manipulated. The designs of the spaces were created with a political commitment to generate the desired feelings of homeliness, familiarity, and security (in case of the kindergarten) and peacefulness, calmness, and solitude (in case of the airport prayer room). Since my understanding of affectual relationships of Indian students with campus spaces (and buildings) takes the view from the everyday use and negotiation of these spaces in evoking feelings of home/not home, projecting the theoretical underpinnings of Kraftl and Adey's (2008) study onto the current project is a useful way to understand how buildings and building designs (and especially campus spaces) can evoke feelings of home/not home. Exploring the meanings students attach to buildings is an important aspect of geographies of home and belonging because buildings quite literally, contribute to place-making (Kraftl, 2010). They are fundamentally geographical in nature, "at and through which *spaces* are made, negotiated, experienced and contested" (Kraftl, 2010: 404, emphasis in original). An interesting discussion regarding the suggestion of the airport management to install a window in the prayer room is an example of such contestations. The Chaplain had vehemently opposed the idea because she had felt that the quality of the prayer room as a "womb-like" (Kraftl and Adey, 2008: 224) place generated feelings of homeliness. Since most passengers at an airport are physically stressed and emotionally strained and possibly, experiencing several emotions simultaneously; they want a place where they can shut out the intense mobilities and chaos of activities. The placement of a window would make this impossible. This view destabilizes our notions of what we consider

'homely' and provides a different perspective of imagining what homeliness constitutes. Using Kraftl and Adey's (2008) discussion of architectural design and feeling of belonging and homeliness, spaces on campus and students' affectual relationships with them can be investigated. From the perspective of built form, Temple (2009) investigates this aspect of the relationship between physical space and social space in academic institutions. This is directly related to the idea of home/not home and belonging in the different spaces of the campus. Jamieson (2009) argues that students living on campus experience it in ways which are very different because they "have a much closer attachment to the campus and more detailed knowledge of its intricacies" (2009: 24). This is more so for international students whose primary social networks, in most cases, are based on campus (Shipton, 2005).

The general perception of typical student life and as promoted by university websites, is that life in student accommodation adds to the 'student experience' and that it is the most 'authentic student experience'. This view arises from an assumption that inclusion occurs as a result of positive interaction with 'difference'. Some recent studies point towards the fallacy of this argument by indicating how living in student halls can be exclusionary (Andersson *et al*, 2012), discriminatory, and caters to stereotype certain sections of the student population (Fincher and Shaw, 2011) and even makes these residences 'unhomely' (Thomsen, 2007). Holton (2014) adopts Bourdieu's notion of 'capitals' to understand how living in student halls of residence provides access to cultural capital which can be later converted to social capital. Drawing from Taulke-Johnson (2010), Holton contends that "student halls can therefore, be recognized as highly pressurized spaces when considering the multiple (and potentially conflicting) identities which reside in them" (Holton, 2014: 3).

Residential location is another factor which determines whether students are viewed as outsiders or insiders within the campus. Students living in university residences were considered 'insiders' in Holdsworth's (2009) UK-based study by local students who lived in their parental homes. Holdsworth's (2006) paper is about the importance of living on campus and how this residential status has an impact on the learning experiences of the students. Holdsworth's (2009) study points to the normative discourse of a typical student life involving living on campus. In effect, it therefore marginalizes the students living at home with their parents to a disadvantageous position. These stereotypical notions of what a student should be are contested, and co-opted by the students themselves. These varied ways of dealing with these differing views of the student body conditions the learning experiences of the students. Most importantly, Holdsworth's (2009) study is a class-based evaluation of the relationship between residence status and ways of 'becoming' a student. This latter variable is dependent not only upon the individual's sense of their world, but is a two-way pathway between how they think they are viewed by the others and how others view them. Such representations and self-representations can also be related to gender, as was demonstrated by female international postgraduate students in Kenway and Bullen's (2003) study. Adopting a postcolonial perspective, their study also considers the university as a 'contact zone' and deals with the students' negotiations with issues about the self/other in the context of difference in terms of gender, ethnicity, and race.

Different learning and teaching styles in the classroom are experienced by international students and these can have an impact on the way in which students imagine their positions within the academic spaces of the university. The two main pedagogic aspects

which have been researched are learning/teaching styles and English language fluency. Ramburuth and McCormick (2001) discuss the differences in the approaches to learning among Australian and Asian students. Volet (1999) focuses on the Confucian Heritage Culture and questions the assumption about Chinese students being 'rote learners'. From a pedagogic perspective, Chan and Drover's (1997) discussion of the differences between British and Chinese ways of learning is relevant in this context. The former saw the 'Confucian-heritage student' as dependent upon 'rote learning'. Rote learning is the mechanical memorization of information. This is quite different from repetitive learning. The former does little to add to knowledge *per se*, whereas the latter is more in-depth and is strategically more useful for long-term memory. Inherent within the binary of east and west, the methods used by students from the east are considered child-like and immature as opposed to the learning methods of the west. The challenges faced by international students due to language difficulties resulting in isolation and loneliness are the focus of Sherry *et al*'s (2010) research. Awareness and sensitivity towards cultural difference is suggested by Marlina (2009) and Nakane's (2006) research whose central theme is the participation of international students in classrooms and seminars. While Nakane's (2006) study on Japanese students indicates that their 'silence' is not about being unable to communicate but rather on cultural factors such as politeness, Marlina (2009) argues that attributing silence and non-participation in class to culture is one-dimensional and risked essentializing the students' situations. It was more important, according to Marlina (2009) to take into consideration the different contexts in which students felt unable to communicate. Similarly, Zhang and Mi (2010) give an alternative view to the 'deficit discourse' (Montgomery and McDowell, 2009). Zhang and Mi's (2010) research on Chinese students shows that difficulties with English do not affect their academic performance.

Similarly, Sawir (2005) argues that instead of focusing on the difficulties international students face with the English language, studies need to analyze the underlying cause. He attributes the method of teaching English as a foreign language in the home countries of international students as the main reason for Asian students' lack of proficiency.

Social features of higher education are linked with ideas of belonging and thereby create an informal space for learning. According to Temple (2007), social spaces which are neither related to work nor are living spaces, will encourage such community-building among students, which will, in turn, will enhance out-of-class learning. The importance of space, in the context of learning has been explored by Jessop *et al* (2012). Jessop *et al* (2012) focus on the contrasting views of academics and students about the physical environment of classrooms and other such formal learning spaces. 'Flexible spaces' enhanced with latest technology were valued over more traditional "one-way facing, teacher-at-the-front design, with students cast as the 'audience' of a lecturing performance" (Jessop *et al*, 2012: 199) which was the prevalent format of classrooms across the campus of a university in the US where Jessop *et al*'s (2012) research was conducted. Temple's (2009) aim is to establish a relationship between campus design and the learning/teaching experience of students and staff. The focus of the study is on understanding how a space gets transformed into place; and how this affects the academic work of the institution. The paper is an important starting point because it introduces the importance of thinking about sense of place in the context of the university.

2.4. Students and dwelling places

Scholarly research on 'housing biographies' (Rugg *et al*, 2004) of young people indicate that in the UK, the general trend is that young people typically move out of their parental homes once they start attending university or any other equivalent higher education institution. But an increasing number also move back after university, which is termed 'post-student migration' (Sage *et al*, 2013) while a rising trend among students from working class families or non-traditional students to stay in their parental homes (Christie, 2007) has also emerged. However, 'traditional' or middle class white students' preference to move out of their parental homes has been the centre of housing studies, particularly in the UK (Christie *et al*, 2002). This journey from the parental home to the university accommodation and then to private housing is complicated and circuitous. It involves learning new skills as the young adults are exposed to the housing market, typically, for the first time. As the students' social needs change during their years in the university, so do their expectations from their housing situations. This 'moving away' (Patiniotis and Holdsworth, 2005) from the parents' house is first initiated by a move to the university residence (typically for the first couple of years) followed by moving into a 'student house' or a private shared house with friends either from the university or more commonly with friends with whom they had shared accommodation in university residences.

These trends or 'housing biographies' (Rugg *et al*, 2004) are an important aspect not only in the lives of young people but also for the city because they identify future home-owners. They also have important implications for purpose-built housing whose main clientele is non-local students. Non-local students are those who study in a university far from their hometown and may choose to live in private accommodation as early as the first year of their study. Additionally, non-local students have limited

local connections and purpose-built housing fills that void. Smith and Hubbard (2014) also point out that in most cases students do not have a choice but to opt for commercially-provided housing because universities are unable to provide residences for all students. Smith and Holt (2007) indicate that these commercial accommodation providers also cater to the higher expectations of young people who do not simply look for a bed and breakfast arrangement but demand facilities such as high speed internet connection, en suite bathrooms, and personal learning environments as well as a communal area for social interaction with other students. Although these types of accommodation are more expensive than the standard fare, students prefer them because of the convenience of living close to the university, amidst other students, but without the commitment involved in sharing responsibilities in a 'student house'. International students live in different kinds of housing because the international student body is very varied and although there are commonalities with other students in terms of their everyday need for privacy and high speed internet facilities; their move away from their parental home is more permanent than their domestic counterparts. Holdsworth's (2009) study identifies that most international students prefer living in university accommodation because like the university, the residence provides opportunities for creating their own social network(s) in a non-academic setting.

According to Moss and Richter (2010), research on living arrangements of students has centred upon four main issues. First, the relationship between academic success, living arrangements and integration into higher education has been explored by researchers like Beekhoven *et al* (2004). The second aspect of student living that has been brought under discussion is the "impact of social inequality in relation to residence" (Moss & Richter, 2010: 158) which includes studies on gender, sexual orientation, race, and cultural difference. The third academic concern with student living arrangements deals

with relationships between transition to adulthood and higher education. Studies pertaining to young people have predominantly focused on issues related to 'transition to adulthood' (Hopkins, 2010). The final aspect of student living which is brought under scrutiny is how the design and quality of the residence has an impact on personalization of spaces, academic success, and friendship building. This is the most pertinent for my research as I explore the significance of friendship networks in creating a sense of home for the Indian students.

Thomsen (2007) discusses the impact of architectural design of student housing on the feeling of home among the inhabitants. Thomsen used 'institutional housing' as the framework to explore ideas of home and homeliness among students. The study is based on two types of student housing in Oslo and concludes that the design of the building and the apartments are significant in generating feelings of belonging or alienation. The idea of home and institution are usually oppositional and Thomsen throws light on its dialectic nature. The students who were interviewed generally associated negative images with the idea of institutional housing. Generic designs without individual character, and the inability or limited ability to personalize their living space further added to feelings of unhomeliness, and in fact, supported "the feeling of anonymity" (Thomsen, 2007: 590). Also, the lack of social interaction owing to lack of communal spaces created negativity about how students felt within those buildings. Rodger and Johnson (2005) claim that suite-style residences generated a greater sense of belonging among most first-year students at a Canadian university than dormitory-style residences. Their study is a questionnaire-based survey of first year students' personality aspects and their relationship with the type of residence they lived in.

Dormitory-style student housing is the more traditional kind of residence design where students share their rooms with one or more students. There are usually about 15 students who share the washroom and a study lounge in each floor of the building. Also, each building is usually equipped with common recreation areas and "cafeteria-style dining halls" (Rodger & Johnson, 2005: 86). Suite-style residences have a number of private bedrooms, and shared kitchen and bathroom. Usually, these "self-contained apartments" (Rodger & Johnson, 2005: 86) are shared by four students. The study indicates that students living in the suite-style residences demonstrate a greater sense of belonging to their dwellings compared to those living in dormitory-style residences. Muslim *et al* (2012) discuss the importance of considering different aspects of living environment as determining students' residential satisfaction. Their study draws comparison between students' satisfaction with on-campus and off-campus housing in Malaysia. Their research reveals that indicators for living satisfaction are complex mainly because there are several overlaps between on-campus and off-campus housing situations. However, the study concludes that although students living on-campus have a higher percentage of successful graduation, off-campus living does not have any significant impact on academic performance. Shrieff *et al* (2005) focus on the role of dining halls in creating segregation among racial and ethnic groups. In the private space of the study-bedroom, however, gender plays an important role in "reinventing home" (Moss & Richter, 2010: 166).

Students in halls of residence 'reinvent home' through different spatio-temporal rituals and routines (Moss & Richter, 2010). These rituals and routines help to create a space which is similar to their ideas of what a 'home' constitutes. Needless to say, these ideas are informed by their past experiences of home. Moss and Richter's (2010) study discusses how ideas of homeliness are gendered with women students being more

concerned with cleanliness and order within their living space compared to the men. Also, female students get more involved in domestic chores like cooking and washing, which "shapes a gendered trajectory to adulthood involving some reproduction and some resistance to gendered expectations about whose responsibility it is to maintain domestic order" (Moss & Richter, 2010: 166). As the students move from their parental homes to a more independent living situation, the residences are viewed as a 'transition' to adulthood. Although there were mixed feelings about how home-like the residence was or not, the private study-bedroom was infused with emotional qualities, as students negotiated their limited space to incorporate multiple activities such as eating, sleeping, and studying. Kenyon's (1999) study of students interrogates ideas of home as a transition from childhood to adulthood. In this study, participants identified home existing at four levels—as personal, temporal, social and a physical space. 'Home as personal' reflects issues related to identities, of a sense of belonging, of memories, independence and freedom. These are 'personalized spaces' which give meaning to life as a student. The second level deals with the idea of permanency, of settlement. The respondents agreed that over time, a place can feel more like home, but the feeling of being constantly 'on the move' or unsettled in student accommodation was posed as the opposite of feeling at home. The social home directly deals with people more than places. Friends and neighbours with whom some level of social interaction is possible make a place home. The final level of analysis which Kenyon (1999) calls the 'physical home' reflects the importance of material artefacts in creating a sense of home. Replicating an atmosphere which they are accustomed to, from memory or through habit, students create a physical space which exudes warmth, an important aspect of feeling 'at home'. However, Kenyon's (1999) study is based on (local and non-local) students who move out of their parental homes into 'student houses' when they enter

university but who keep regular contact with them, such as visiting them over weekends. Some even mentioned occasionally carrying their laundry over to their parents' house during such visits. The sense of 'detachment' from their parents and their originary home is usually much stronger for international students owing to the physical distance. Their experiences of emotional connections related to a physical home are akin to those of migrants who also undergo a destabilization of their 'home' as a result of migration.

Walsh's (2006) research on British expatriates in Dubai focuses on how ordinary domestic objects in our everyday lives which can be rendered mundane or even invisible, play a significant role in home-making. The analysis of the domestic objects revealed home "simultaneously as both material and immaterial, lived and imagined, localized and (trans)national space of belonging" (Walsh, 2006: 123). The paper explores the relationship between practices of dwelling and mobility. The home-making practices of British expatriates were about dwelling within, and in spite of, mobility. The gendered nature of such home-making practices is explored by Walsh (2011) who strongly emphasizes the importance of gender in shaping experiences of migration. Gorman-Murray (2008) and Ahmet (2013) also tease out several dichotomies associated with home, identity, gender, and sexuality by disentangling 'home' and home-making at different spatial scales. Like Walsh (2006), Cieraad (2010) also argues for the fluidity and multiplicity of home, but Butcher claims that the "desire to fix home with particular meaning by attaching it to place is still apparent even for highly mobile migrants" (Butcher, 2010a: 23). Butcher's (2010a) paper discusses how home was "re-placed" (Butcher, 2010a: 24) in Singapore by transnational Australian professionals through everyday routinized practices. Although 'home' is articulated as attachment to a place, it is nevertheless, complex and involves constant re-evaluation and re-

negotiations with familiarity and unfamiliarity; a constant contestation between feeling 'in place' and 'out of place'.

In Nowicka's (2007) research on transnational highly mobile professionals, the idea of home is experienced both in mobility and by locating oneself through material objects in place, implying the processual nature of home. The importance of material artefacts in creating a sense of home has been explored more fully by Tolia-Kelly (2004). Personalization of space involves 'impermanent changes' (Thomsen, 2007) within the dwelling space, such as putting up posters. Thomsen's (2007) paper demonstrates that like homeowners, students too, have a similar desire for freedom of expression within their temporary residential situation. However, in institutional housing such as university residence halls, there arises a conflict between students who wish to personalize their space and the authorities who wish to limit such activities in order to maintain a certain standard and quality of the residences. In this context, it can be assumed therefore that "residential satisfaction" (Thomsen, 2007: 580) is dependent upon the degree of 'homeyness' that students feel, which in turn is related to whether or not they have the freedom or the means to make themselves at home through personal artefacts (Moss & Richter, 2010) or through redecoration (Kenyon, 1999).

Khozaei *et al* (2010) argue that women graduate students' satisfaction with their housing situations depends largely on whether or not their residences are similar to their homes. Four main themes which affected the satisfaction of the students were identified, indicating it as a "multi-dimensional construct" (Khozaei *et al*, 2010: 69). The first theme was 'physical facilities and comfort', which included kitchen and cooking facilities, room size, and (shared) bathroom. Depending on previous experiences in one's home, all these factors contributed to the residence feeling like home/not home. Students of Khozaei *et al*'s (2010) study also mentioned that living on campus meant

that they had fewer domestic responsibilities, such as cleaning and repairing, which was similar to their positions at home. In this sense, some students mentioned that they preferred living in campus residences than sharing private apartments with friends. Security was the second factor which could create a sense of home. Living alone, especially for international students, can be a frightening experience. Living with other students within the 'secure' campus space was preferred by many students of the study. Feeling safe was an important aspect of feeling at home. Another aspect was the presence of communal, informal spaces where students could relax and socialize with their friends. This was especially true for Muslim women students and as Khozaei *et al* (2010) comment, this should be an important consideration for planners and architects while planning student residences. Finally, the importance of colours in exuding a feeling of warmth was mentioned by the students. Students felt that bare, mono-coloured (mostly white) walls were too stark and 'institutional' (Thomsen, 2007) and gave them a feeling of not belonging. Tolia-Kelly (2006) explores the mnemonic and material artefacts in the homes of a group of diasporic British South Asian women in London. With the help of images which the participants of the workshop drew of their 'ideal home', Tolia-Kelly (2006) unearths the various articulations of 'home' and home-making practices, as implicated within the 'landscapes of Englishness'. Situating the British Asian home in opposition to and in congruity with 'Englishness' (as the participants perceived it), the everyday practices of diasporic identities in more than one location are identified (Tolia-Kelly, 2004a). The positioning of the diasporic subject through memory and re-memory as a methodological tool to understanding the discursive framing of the migrant experience is the focus of Tolia-Kelly's (2004b) work on British South Asian identities. Re-memory is a term used by Toni Morrison in *Beloved*, which describes the act of remembering memories. This can be through

symbolic and material practices. Re-memories can be signifiers of narrations of a past, which may not be directly experienced but which form part of a common social history. Re-memory is also a helpful analytical tool to understand the fractured identities and personal histories and the dual identities of people living in migration. While migrants navigate their way through the new culture of arrival, they carry within them the loss of departure from their 'home' countries. These are manifest through the emplacement of material and cultural artefacts within the home spaces of migrants. The *mandir*[19] is one such example which is symbolic of the emotional, affectual, and mnemonic aspects of a past home.

Other material artefacts which are replete with emotion and memory are family photographs. Chambers (2003) explores how family albums represent and expose the hidden ideas of belonging as manifested through spatial identity. The family album is therefore, located in oral interaction. The act of remembering and preserving memories through photographs forms a part of one's identity as connections are re-established with relatives and family members. Rose (2004) argues that family photographs taken by family members and of family members, and which remain only to be viewed by family members "are indeed extraordinarily important, emotionally resonant objects" (Rose, 2004: 549). Migrants may express their sense of belonging, their nostalgia for home or the desire to preserve their pasts through a display of family photographs in order to preserve their identities in a world that is rapidly changing for them.

Connections with family and friends are also maintained transnationally, mainly through the internet. For international students, the study-bedroom is also the site

[19] *Mandir* is a Hindi word for 'temple'. A *mandir* is not only a religious building in a public place but also denotes the place of worship in the home. It is common practice in Indian households to have a place of worship, the scale of which depends on the socio-cultural and economic situation of the family. A *mandir* can be a room dedicated for worship or it can be a specially built miniature form of a temple (usually made of wood or marble) placed preferably in the north-east corner of a room which houses idols/photographs of deities.

where transnational connections are maintained with friends and family back home (Collins, 2010) with the help of communication technologies (Wilding, 2006). Vertovec (2004) also acknowledges the importance of communication technologies in the lives of transnational migrants. The Internet brings together people across distant spaces and is an affectual and embodied experience because it connects people through sight and sound. Longhurst's (2013) research on the experiences of mothers extends the discussion of visuality as a significant aspect of emotional geographies of home. Her paper focuses on how mothers communicate with their children who live away from home through Skype. As free software which allows video chats, Skype is a convenient way through which mothers in New Zealand stay connected with their children. The space of the dining room is transformed into a transnational space where the family gathers around the laptop to see and hear each other. Participants of Longhurst's (2013) study mentioned how 'motherhood' was synonymous with 'caring for' children and this translated into the ability to 'see' what they were doing or what their homes looked like. It gave the women a sense of control and a satisfaction with the knowledge that they 'knew' about their offspring's lives at home. The study, by focussing on the specific aspect of 'mothering', also takes a critical view of what constitutes 'mothering' and motherhood. Skype also symbolized for the young men and women, their transition to adulthood. They could perform this identity because they were in a space which was their current home, and distinctly separate from their parents' homes. For example, one mother mentioned her son sipping on a glass of wine while chatting on Skype. Similarly, the women were also aware of their on-screen persona and their role as a mother. They could choose the time when they would be online as per their convenience. Performing motherhood was therefore an activity of choice afforded to them by the virtual and physical distance between them. At the same time, Skype

allowed them to feel connected and helped them to deal effectively with the emotional loss associated with an 'empty nest'. Projecting this long-distance communication to the context of international students, 'home' and 'belonging' can be further explored and expanded to include virtual spaces of ICT. At a more tangible level, food preparation and consumption also contribute significantly to the feeling of home.

Food is a commodity through which identities are created and represented. Kneafsey and Cox (2002) discuss how gender and ethnicity intersect through a case study of food consumption among Irish women in Coventry. They argue that through the consumption and cooking of food, these women maintain an Irish identity while they are away from home. In their study, the importance of cooking and eating in their everyday lives is reflected by the fact that food is sent across the seas from USA and UK. Women were more in touch with their relatives than the men of the households. The second aspect of cooking among the Irish women that Kneafsey and Cox (2002) interviewed was centred on familiarity. Familiar foods, ingredients, cooking methods, recipes and even cooking vessels were used in order to maintain their sense of Irish identity. A statement such as "food at home tastes better" is common among migrants who deliberately buy foodstuffs which are made in Ireland. Valentine (1999) discusses the significance of cooking and consuming food in creating a sense of home. Cooking familiar foods and buying necessary ingredients for the purpose is an important aspect of home-making for Polish and Irish migrants of Coakley's (2012) study. Locher *et al* (2005) also focus on the emotional and psychological aspects of 'comfort foods' for undergraduate students. Their study disentangles the complex intersections between food, emotions, sociality, memory, and gender. Locher *et al* (2005) contend that comfort food is associated with and consumed when the students of the study wanted to deal with homesickness, or generally felt low in spirit. Comfort food was associated

with a past home and feelings of nostalgia or were consumed to evoke a sense of security. These interconnections become even more significant in the lives of international students (Brown *et al*, 2010) who experience stress associated with culture shock, loneliness, study-related pressures, and homesickness, to name a few. In an unfamiliar social, cultural, and academic environment, familiar food is imbued with deeper meanings. Brown *et al*'s (2010) study revealed that "in its familiarity, home country food could be reassuring, nurturing and stabilizing, and was credited with alleviating stress and loneliness" (2010: 204). Familiarity is the focus of Collins' (2008) study of South Korean international students' consumption practices in New Zealand. The students meet their friends in globalized coffee shop chains like Starbucks, eat with other South Korean friends in different Korean restaurants dotting downtown Auckland, and cook and eat Korean food in their (shared) dwellings. These practices, Collins (2008a) argues, are "collective acts of remembrance" (2008a: 166), which help them to feel a sense of connection with their spatially and temporally distant homes. The home takes on multiple meanings associated with the students' transnational identities.

Conclusions

International students' everyday practices of urban spaces, university spaces, and dwelling spaces have been situated within the broader framework of migration to explore ideas of 'home' and 'belonging'. The review of relevant literature pertaining to the three main themes of the research is a means to contextualize international students broadly and Indian students more specifically. Empirical studies on Indian students remain mainly limited to Baas' (2010) and Robertson's (2011b) discussions of immigration plans and practices, and Sondhi's (2013) study about the importance of

gender and class on international student experience. By locating my study within the framework of 'home' and 'belonging', I aim to shed light on the everyday spatialities of Indian students and the impact these articulations have on the socio-spatial nature of identities. This chapter sets the stage for the specificity of spatial experiences of Indian students, which will be discussed in the chapters that follow. The next chapter is a discussion of the methods and methodologies that have been employed to undertake the research.

CHAPTER THREE

Researching international students from India: Method and Methodology

Introduction

Home and belonging are used as analytical tools to understand the dichotomies of transience/permanence and transnational/local in three kinds of everyday (social) spaces, i.e. the city, the university, and the dwelling in the lives of Indian students. Home is simultaneously here, there, neither, both, and in-between. Simultaneity of such contradictions and abstractions are difficult to fathom and therefore "requires analytical as well as methodological departures" (Collins, 2012b: 297). Such departures are necessary to understand the dichotomy of transience/permanence of international student lives which constantly shift between 'mobility and emplacement' (Collins, 2012b). In order to understand such complexities, it is important to "imbue traditional research methodologies with a sense of the creative" (Latham, 2003: 2000). Traditional qualitative methods such as interviews and surveys which are otherwise helpful in uncovering migration stories are not sufficient in forging a deeper understanding of the nuances of international students' lives (Collins, 2012b). Cheng's (2013) paper is a case in point. The paper uses a combination of photography and walking as analytical tools of a 'mobile ethnography' in an urban context. The photographs explain the connections between materialities and affective qualities of a city. Cheng (2013) explains the everyday lives of the people without placing them or himself within the visual and textual frame. This strategy of expressing the present-absences of the people of Singapore depicts the city instead as a ghost town. Although this destabilizes ideas of the city as a bustling commercial and economic hub, it also fails to make necessary connections with the inhabitants. The narration of their everyday lives remains

incomplete without the 'voices' from the street. Visual methods alone cannot fully unearth the complexities of everyday lives. This also pertains to everyday lives of international students which are fraught with ideas of im/mobilities and multiple subjectivites. Nuances of everyday lives of such a mobile group (they move frequently between dwellings, and their routines change according to term-time) can be better explored with the help of qualitative creative methodologies.

The chapter has been organized according to the different stages of the research because the different issues related to conducting qualitative research run through every stage of the research project. Although it follows a general chronological order, there are overlaps between different stages, particularly the last two stages, i.e. fieldwork and post-fieldwork. Also, all the three stages are in keeping with the main research questions set out in the beginning (See Chapter One). In Section 3.1, I set up the research by discussing the practicalities of research, methodological rationale for the study which in turn informs the methods used. Next, (Section 3.2), I discuss in detail the methods chosen. Section 3.3 focuses on the fieldwork phase of the research which revolves around the research ethics, recruitment, and the interview process. The final phase of the research, i.e. analysis of the data is the focus of Section 3.4.

3.1. Setting up the research

3.1.1. Positionality, reflexivity, and practicalities of research

Considering limitations of a research project is an important aspect of planning it (Clifford *et al*, 2010). The first question which I was faced with was 'Who is an Indian student?' This was an important question to consider because it had wider and deeper implications (during the recruitment phase, especially) in Toronto. Early in the

research, I realized that issues related to Permanent Residency, such as whether or not to apply for one, and if so when, was an aspect of (im)migration that international students grappled with during their stay in Canada. I was faced with the question: 'Can I consider someone who has a Canadian PR to be an Indian student?' I decided then that if the participants held a valid Indian passport, then they would be considered an Indian student. This helped in refining the recruitment process.

The next roadblock which I encountered was the recruitment of participants. By nature, students are a diverse group and are usually found in a variety of locations. Although they mostly live in university halls of residence (Montgomery, 2010), access to Indian students was initially difficult. Also, in large cities like London and Toronto, locating them and subsequently getting their consent for participating in the research project was one of the biggest challenges. However, how this hurdle was overcome is detailed in Section 3.2.

Another challenge was doing multi-sited research in two cities, and especially in Toronto. Although the Research Cost Fund[20] awarded by the University of London helped a long way in paying for the accommodation (for four months), there were additional costs incurred. Also, since my fieldwork in Toronto was from September-January, meeting and recruiting participants during the winter was a difficult task. The time frame had been deliberately chosen so that I would find more students during the beginning of the semester than at any other time. The limited time for fieldwork in Toronto meant that decisions regarding the number of participants recruited had to be made. Initially, the plan was to recruit 20 participants but within the time frame, I was able to recruit 16. Fieldwork in London during the summer was also difficult because many students doing a one-year postgraduate degree were leaving in September and

[20] It has recently been renamed Central Research Fund.

were writing their dissertation during the time. So, scheduling interviews was simultaneously easier than would have been during regular classes (as admitted by the students) and more difficult because their schedules were more unstructured. Reflecting on the design and structure of the research as well as its significance is a continuous process during every stage of the research.

Reflexivity is a term used by feminists to situate themselves as researchers within the subject/object dialectical position of their study. Reflexivity has been best described by England (1994) as "self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self conscious analytical scrutiny of the self as a researcher" (1994: 82). Reflexivity should be a part of every stage of the research (Nast, 1994; Rose, 1997) because the researcher needs to be constantly aware of the shifting nature of the researcher-researched relationship. There are two ways to determine reflexivity within the feminist contextual approach to research. First, the gendered objects of analysis and the places within which they are found and second, the researcher's own knowledge and the complex gendered space within which they (the researcher as well as the researched) inhabit (Jones *et al*, 1997). The way researchers and respondents perform their identities and read them is subject to the relational moment of the interview. Bhopal (1997) exemplifies the blurred lines between insider/outsider through her research on South Asian women in London. Her experiences of being treated as an outsider (although she is a South Asian woman herself) in terms of her privileged position of studying for a PhD in a university makes us aware of the position of a researcher. The inherent and intrinsic power relationship between a researcher and the researched is explained by Katz (1992: 496) as "a peculiar relationship—unequally initiated, situationally lop-sided, spatially dislocated, temporally isolated, extrinsic in purpose—it oozes with power". But contextuality acquires different meanings and significance within different spatial contexts with an underlying

connectivity between different social systems. For example, the everyday spatial practices of Indians as international students in London will be different from those in Toronto. Additionally, the definition of space will vary according to the kind of research and the embeddedness of the researcher. This does not mean that an attempt is being made to emphasize the importance of the 'local'. Rather, as Jones *et al* (1997: xxvii) contend, the interrelationships "among places, things, practices and persons cut across place; processes always work through space to exceed any 'local'…" One cannot separate social relations from space and vice versa. Feminist geographers therefore, disentangle "space so as to comprehend the interconnectedness and difference that weave together and separate—both socially and spatially—all objects of their analysis" (Jones *et al*, 1997: xxvii-xxviii). Critical reflection guided me throughout the research and helped me situate 'knowledge' contextually. The constant inner dialogue (Skovdal and Abebe, 2012) helped in creating a more sympathetic researcher-researched relationship. It helped in shaping my identity not as an objective researcher but as a fellow international student. Such shifting of identities heightened my awareness about my positionality within the research.

I am an Indian (international) student living in London with an MA degree from York University in Toronto. As a result, I have had similar experiences of living on campus residences as well as having a basic familiarity with the two cities in question, making London and Toronto 'familiar fields' (Sharp & Dowler, 2011). Since I have "a strong personal investment in the field" (Taylor, 2011: 15) and know the field and (some of the) participants in "intensely familiar ways" (Taylor, 2011: 15), this makes my research that of an "intimate insider" (Taylor, 2011). An intimate insider negotiates familiarity at different levels and can be distinguished from an 'insider researcher'

> ... on the basis that the researcher is working, at the deepest level, within their own 'backyard' [...] and thus becomes engaged in a process of self-interpretation to some degree... (Taylor, 2011: 9).

My positionality in the research is that of an intimate insider not only because I was familiar with the 'field' but also because a couple of my participants were close friends. This meant that I was involved in a constant process of self-reflexivity and self-scrutiny, questioning my "professional and personal ethical conduct, accountability, the potential for data distortion and my lack of objectivity and possible insider blindness" (Taylor, 2011: 13). As far as the participants were concerned, I had to remain intuitive and keen to differentiate between information shared as 'on' or 'off' record (Taylor, 2011). But more importantly, as Taylor (2011) mentions, the most difficult challenge to overcome was to understand whether or not what my participants were disclosing was influenced by the information that I had shared with them regarding the research. This was more so when it came to writing diaries and taking photographs because the participants relied primarily on the Information Sheet to guide them through the process. This meant that I had to constantly 'retract, unpack, and unlearn' (Taylor, 2011) what was also part of my everyday life, making "the field itself an emotional and intimate space" (Cuomo & Massaro, 2014: 4). Since, at various instances, my narrative as an Indian student intertwined with my participants' narratives (Taylor, 2011), I needed to be aware of the 'limitations of reflexivity' (Adkins, 2002) and needed to consciously bring to the forefront, my researcher identity. Although the research proved to be both an outward-looking and an inward-looking process, the one way that I was able to create some "analytical distance" (Taylor, 2011: 15) between myself and the participants was by trying to evaluate critically the category of 'Indian student'. I also relied on their experience of different cities in India (different from my hometown)

to understand their experiences of London and Toronto. In cases where our hometowns were the same, I had to focus on my 'difference' with them in terms of their other life experiences, such as education. Acknowledging the 'intertextuality' was part of both the interviewing and writing processes (Taylor, 2011: 9).

Owing to the diversity of Indian culture, whether there is a homogeneous 'Indian' identity is open to question. Therefore, although my participants were Indians, they came from varied cultural backgrounds. Although I was "privy to undocumented historical knowledge of the people and cultural phenomenon being studied" (Taylor, 2011: 9), I was also unaware of the nuances of the different cultures of home. On the one hand, as Dyck (1993) asserts, a thorough involvement with the research participant's life is an important aspect of feminist research because it can help to "elicit the meanings, feelings, and attitudes through which to gain understanding" (Dyck, 1993: 54). On the other hand, I was apprehensive that my position within the research would leave me with a bias about how to interpret certain activities based on my own experiential knowledge, making it more difficult to overcome "insider myopia" (Taylor, 2011: 16). However, as Dyck's (1993) study of white mothers in Vancouver suggests, a general "sharing of a common frame of reference and familiarity with culturally specific terms and nuances" (1993: 54) facilitated the interview process. Finally, as a researcher, I had to rely not only on my formal training but also on my intuition and emotional intelligence because qualitative research is by no means measured or calculated and issues about positionality remain within the liminal spaces of 'boundary-making' (Cuomo & Massaro, 2014) and positionality, especially that of an intimate insider, is ever-shifting and unpredictable (Taylor, 2011). It was only by

acknowledging my own positionality within the research that I was able to ground myself and found it easier to tackle ethical questions more conscientiously.

3.1.2. Methodology

The theoretical rationale behind the research project is situated in a postcolonial worldview. As discussed earlier (See Chapter One), the perspective which informs research on international students remains broadly Eurocentric. The methodological aim is to destabilize this view from the 'west' and to listen for the voice of the subaltern. Although I do not assume that the position of Indian international students is that of the 'subaltern', but their 'invisibility' in the literature points towards their marginal position. Unearthing the everyday geographies of international students from India is therefore compatible with the agenda that Blunt and Rose (1994: 20) laid out for critical postcolonial geographies in that it "...should address not only the multiple and complex construction of subjectivity but also space itself'. Studying the everyday spatial practices of international students will illuminate their lived realities from the perspective of the 'other' (Raghuram and Madge, 2006), as opposed to the normative view from the 'western' academy, and direct our attention to their multiple subjectivities.

Through analyzing the everyday lives and spatial practices of Indian international students located in London and Toronto, I aim to uncover their ideas of home in the city, university, and dwelling. The meanings of everyday activities also vary in different social and geographical contexts. In order to explore this, a multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995) will be adopted in order to understand how identities are negotiated in everyday spaces and different meanings may emerge from spatial practices in different

locations. Since the project deals with the construction and reassertion of place at intersecting cultural spaces or 'contact zones', a multi-sited approach validates the theory that context and location of individuals have an impact upon identities. The methods which have been chosen for the purpose of the research aim to disentangle the multiple axes of difference in two sites.

The aim of the research is to understand the lived experiences of Indian students in their study destinations (i.e. London and Toronto). Thus, place-making in the everyday spaces of the city, university, and dwelling is the focus of the study. Making sense of the everyday is a tricky and complex task. It involves understanding the performance of habit (Harrison, 2000) as a means to preserving the self. Here 'self' can be read as identity, although conflating the two and thereby simplifying both is not the aim. It is merely to state that what we perceive as our 'self' is a reflection of how we view ourselves as, not only reflexively but also through the eyes of others who view us. This again relates to the notion that one's life course is not necessarily linear but circulatory and inadvertently the body carries forward what and how we sense the world around us (Harrison, 2000). Disentangling such abstract ideas of 'self', identities and the everyday is needless to say, extremely complex. No one method can claim to fathom the depths of human nature. All views and approaches can only aim to portray a partial and situated knowledge of the same.

By acknowledging that all knowledge is partial and situated, I have attempted to bridge the "epistemological gap between the lived experiences" (Markwell, 2000: 97) of Indian students and my (researcher's) interpretation by using photo-documentation techniques. Photo-documentation (Markwell, 2000) is a method of analysis of visual data in which different aspects of the photographs (such as content, frequency of a particular subject) are recorded and analyzed using both the researcher's and the

participants' interpretation of them. In order to understand the subjective experiences of places and the meanings Indian students "create and attach to places" (Markwell, 2000: 91), creative methods need to be employed. To critically evaluate and uncover mundane activities which are necessarily "noncognitive, preintentional and commonsensical" (Latham, 2003: 1998), I have used a creative qualitative methods approach in the form of self-directed photography, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and diaries.

3.1.3. Methods

Having its origins in Humanistic Geography, qualitative approaches in geographical research focused on the importance of understanding lived experiences and to interpret multiple meanings of social worlds (Dwyer and Limb, 2001). It raised questions about the value of adopting a positivist approach to studying man-environment interaction. Qualitative approaches therefore brought into focus the messiness of dealing with data pertaining to human behaviour across space and ways to understand them. Feminist geographers also contributed to the discourse on understanding the meanings behind life-worlds and inter-relationship between the social and spatial. Qualitative methods consider reality not as a single truth but recognize the importance of individual's perspectives, which results in the fundamental understanding that different people will experience the same situation and places differently. By giving voice to the individual experiences, different perspectives are recognized which might otherwise come under a generalization or worse still, be unheard or muted. The kind of approach adopted is determined by the main aims of the research (and therefore the kinds of answers sought) as well as the research questions set out in the beginning of a research project. There are many geographies and qualitative researchers respond to these multiplicities

by adapting and using flexibility in their methods of understanding different situations. This is the cornerstone of a qualitative approach.

Latham's (2003) project undertaken with the help of the Diary-Photograph Diary-Interview (DPDI) method was to understand how places 'became' through the "sensuous interweaving of lives and daily projects of the thousands of individuals who daily dwell within them" (2003: 2001). My research was deeply influenced by this method but some changes were made to suit the research. I conducted an initial interview whose focus was to get general information about the participants, their lives prior to migration, and their everyday lives as students in London and Toronto. At the end of the first interview, I offered to provide the participants with journals but none of them accepted the offer. They were more comfortable typing up their diary entries and sending them to me by email. The diarists were asked to write about a typical week describing their interactions with people and particular urban spaces. In the diaries, they would describe in detail what they felt when they went to get coffee from their favourite coffee shop for example and what they observed about that place. The diaries also included a time-space account of their daily life and positioned themselves within this spatio-temporal frame. By doing so, the diarists consciously engaged and recorded their engagement with urban spaces that were a part of their ordinary life. The second step was to conduct the second interview (or diary-interview) where the participant clarified points made in the diary in more detail. This approach helped to build some form of rapport between the researcher and the participant where the power relations are diluted as the participant feels more in control as they speak about aspects of their life that they would like to reveal. The third step was substantiating the diaries with photographs. Latham (2003) provided the participants with portable cameras to take photographs of the mundane and important places and events in the diarist's week.

This would provide a visual dimension to the study and allow for a more interpretative understanding of their material realities. A combination of the visual and the discursive would also help to recreate better the everyday lives of participants. Although these steps were closely followed, it should be mentioned that unlike Latham's (2003) study where the participants spoke about a particular coffee shop and its significance in their lives, my research had a broader purchase. My participants were encouraged to report their daily lives even when there were times when they had nothing interesting to note (Kenten, 2010). Also, like Morrison's (2012) study, the interviews, diaries, and photographs complemented each other and the first interview was a helpful way of establishing a rapport (Valentine, 2005) as well as explaining the aim of the research to the participants. The participants were provided with the Information Sheet (Appendix A) which helped them through their diary-writing phase. Like Bijoux and Myers (2006), I believe that,

> A triangulation of these methods is intended to create a methodological strategy that adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, depth and creativity to the research. Moreover, it offers potential for a deeper participation in, and power over, the research process for research participants. (Bijoux and Myers, 2006: 48)

Increasingly, multi-methods are being used by human geographers who value the triangulation method as a helpful way to understand the experiences of the everyday (Bijoux and Myers, 2006). Crang (2002) has claimed that there is a shift from the traditionally used qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews, ethnography, and focus groups. In order to understand the everyday spaces and lived experience, Bijoux and Myers (2006) uses Latham's (2003) work to emphasize the need in human geography to incorporate more creative and unorthodox methods. This is especially true for research about young people. Langevang (2007) asserts that the complexity of

spatio-temporal practices of young people can be better understood though a multi-methods approach. Young and Barrett (2001) assert the importance of non-conventional methods to study successfully the lives of street children in Kampala. Solicited diaries (Meth, 2003a) and auto-photography (Lombard, 2013) can be used to uncover everyday lives and to represent "core components of everyday experience" (Bijoux and Myers, 2006: 44). A brief overview of the methods used in different social and geographical settings follows.

3.2. Methods chosen

The creative qualitative methods approach involved a combination of three methods, namely, (two) in-depth semi-structured interviews, self-directed photography, and solicited diaries. These will be discussed in detail in the following sub-sections.

3.2.1. In-depth semi-structured interviews

Interviews form a very important part of qualitative methods in Human Geography. Qualitative techniques deal with people's representations and constructions of their lives. The information gathered from qualitative research is multi-dimensional and subjective and is mostly unstructured in nature (Robinson, 1998). Even though qualitative research is less structured, some order is necessary for the research to derive substantive meaning. In interviews, it is imperative that the researcher and the participant share a rapport so that the interview process becomes an interactive one.

Even in in-depth semi structured interviews, some orderliness is required. There are two ways of ordering questions and topics for interviews (Dunn, 2005). One is the 'funnelling' method which involves starting with more general issues and then

narrowing it down to more specific questions. This is based on the assumption that the participant might feel uncomfortable talking about a specific issue at the onset of the interview. Also, in the process of the interview, a much-required rapport develops between the researcher and the participant, which allows for further and more specific questions later. The other method is the 'pyramid interviewing strategy'. This method suggests that abstract and general questions be asked at the end of the interview. All these aspects were borne in mind while designing key topics to be discussed and questions to be included during the interviews (see Appendices C and D).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been used by researchers interested in understanding the relationships between migration and place-making (Nagel, 2005) from the perspective of life-course among return migrants (Ni Laoire, 2008) and biographies (Findlay and Li, 1997). In my research, the first interview was used to understand the migration experiences as a reflection of personal biographic narratives (Findlay and Stockdale, 2003) and the second interview illustrated the translocal (Datta, 2011) and transnational connections in the everyday lives through discussions of photographs and diaries.

Miles and Crush (1993) have supported the 'personal narrative approach' as a method to understand the life-stories of migrants. Not only does such a method help to recover hidden stories, it is also a feminist approach in which the participants are given the power to represent themselves by 'telling' their own stories. In their study, Findlay and Li (1997: 35) encouraged the participants to engage "in a deliberate act of reflection and try to relate their migrant intentions to the wider collage of their changing social and cultural worlds". Such a self-reflexive act was modified further by structuring the interviews according to the life stages as defined by the participants. The difficulties that arose from this approach were that sometimes the participants were unable to

articulate what was meant by day-to-day practices. Halfacree and Boyle (1993) also identified this problem in this approach and provided a way to work around this problem. Interviewers can ask the participants to identify the people (social actors), important events (social situations) and personal experiences (reflective action) which were significant to them and transformed their worldviews. By identifying the interconnections between people and events in their everyday lives, the participants were able to bring out the abstractions of identities to a more discursive level of analysis.

Two interviews were conducted with each participant, amounting to a total of 72 interviews with 36 participants (20 from London and 16 from Toronto). The interviews were designed bearing in mind the main themes of the research. The questions were open-ended and 'probes and hangers' (Robson, 2002) were used. Throughout the interviews, I remained mindful of not breaking the flow of the conversation (Valentine, 2005), by using the probes judiciously. Such "mental gymnastics" (Valentine, 2005: 120) was helpful as I was able to visualize a number of themes emerging during the interview process. Since the interviews were semi-structured, I kept the main themes in mind while interviewing and the discussion was allowed to take the shape of a conversation, offering the "participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important" (Longhurst, 2010: 107). The first interview was a shorter one dealing with factual questions (Valentine, 2005) starting with warm-up questions or ice-breakers (Johnson, 2002). This was followed by a discussion (with transition questions) about the places in their everyday lives (Johnson, 2002). It was helpful in contextualizing the research and gave the participants a more in-depth idea about what the research entailed. The second interview was designed in the form of a diary-interview (Latham, 2003, 2010) and the discussion focussed on the written diary and photographs. Both

the interviews were concluded with cool-off questions (Robson, 2002). Thoughtful questions (Valentine, 2005) were explored at the end of the interview giving the participants more time to think about and elaborate on issues which I had found to be interesting. "Feminist researchers have stressed the importance of interacting and sharing information with participants rather than treating them as subordinates from whom you are extracting information" (Valentine, 2005: 121) and I situated myself within the interview by doing so on several occasions.

3.2.2. Self-directed photography

Self-directed photography is a research methodology whose theoretical origin lies in the postmodern understanding of image as text. It is used as an effective means of accessing different spaces and revealing stories narrated by research participants. Hence, it is also termed participant-directed photography. The main principles of this form of qualitative methodology focus on promoting "participation, engagement and empowerment in the research process" (Bijoux and Myers, 2006: 44). The researcher's voice is minimized and the participants are accorded the opportunity to explain their lives 'on their own terms' (Holloway and Valentine, 2000: 8) since participants provide their own interpretation of their lives, the reasons behind the images, and the meanings attached to them. Self-directed photography also allows for more autonomy of the participants as the photographs are usually in the absence of the researcher. This also adds another dimension to the research material because it provides a deeper understanding of the spaces accessed by the participants. The participants decide which spaces are significant to them and also decide which photographs they would like to share with the researcher. Self-directed photography has the benefit of making the participants more aware of their surroundings and their relationships to places. Brickell

(2012) prefers the term 'host-employed photography' instead. Brickell's (2012b) research paper focuses on photographs taken by the hosts (host-employed photography or HEP) of a tourist destination in order to provide an alternative view to tourism research which has traditionally focused on images produced by tourists and represented in a way which caters to the consumptive aspirations of potential tourists. In the field of Tourism Geography, other terms such as 'volunteer-employed' or 'visitor-employed photography'. Aitken and Wingate (1993) use the terms self-directed photography and auto-photography interchangeably. Harper (2002) uses the term 'photo elicitation' to describe a method where the photographs are included in the interview process. In the light of the above discussion, it is clear that the terms such as auto-photography, host-employed photography, volunteer-employed photography/visitor-employed photography (VEP) are used to denote the identity of the photographer and thereby identifies the perspective of the visual data produced. In my research, I use the term self-directed photography to indicate the principles behind using photographs taken by research participants.

Self-directed photography has also been used to illustrate experiences of place with marginalized (Johnsen *et al*, 2008), under-represented (Dodman, 2003), and vulnerable (Young and Barrett, 2001) social groups in order to understand the world from their perspective (Lombard, 2013). In all these studies, it was commonly agreed that auto-photography allowed the hidden spaces within the city which were inaccessible to the researchers to be brought into view. Johnsen *et al*'s (2008) study of homeless people exposed the lived realities of this group from their perspective, which in many ways was in opposition to the view that the general public have of them. Similarly, Dodman's (2003) study involved using the auto-photographic method as a tool to understand urban environmental issues through the eyes of high school students in

Kingston, Jamaica. Similarly, Lombard (2013) studied the informal neighbourhoods of Xalapa, Mexico and revealed the ways in which the dominant discourse differed from the everyday lives of the residents. By focusing on the production of the visual material, the above-mentioned studies moved beyond the traditional interpretation and analysis of visual representations of the city as 'text'. Instead, it used the method as an analytical tool to examine how age, gender, and class affect perceptions of and relationships with the urban environment.

In a detailed account of the methodological issues behind using self-directed photography in the realms of the private space of the home, Ellis (2003) draws out the concerns of the researcher and the participants. The main stumbling block for her research seemed to be centred on the ethical dilemma of whether or not to ask the participants to photograph their homes. Ellis' (2003) study throws light upon two aspects; namely that auto-photography can be a methodological tool to understand subject-positions and identities and secondly, the act of photography is intricately related to power relations within 'home spaces'. I have used self-photography to give the participant the opportunity to narrate their daily lives and give them voice (Bijoux and Myers, 2006). Some participants utilized the opportunity to depict their lives visually, drawing similarities with photo-diaries (Latham, 2003). Although the final decision to select which photos to use lay with me, "much of what is photographed is retained by the research participant" (Bijoux & Myers, 2006: 50) along with the interpretation of the images. I have used photographs as texts and linked them with other methods, i.e. interviews and diaries.

3.2.3. Solicited diaries

Solicited diaries have been defined as 'an account produced specifically at the researcher's request' (Bell, 1998: 72 as quoted in Meth, 2003: 196). Meth uses Bell's (1998) definition of solicited diaries as 'an account produced specifically at the researcher's request, by an informant or informants' (Bell, 1998: 72). Meth (2003) used solicited diaries in her study of women in South Africa to understand the lived experiences of violence/ crime and their fears regarding it. Hence, solicited diaries are written by the participants with the knowledge that it is for "external consumption" (Meth, 2003: 196). Contrary to such studies, solicited diaries are written with the "full knowledge that the writing process is for external consumption" (Meth, 2003: 196).

Meth (2003) contends that solicited diaries have not commonly been used in Human Geographic research. Diaries have been used as texts in historical geographical research (Blunt, 2000). Popularly, solicited diaries have been used in Human Geography to access relatively inaccessible spaces such as lives of homosexual men diagnosed with AIDS in New Zealand (Myers, 2010) or exploring difficult experiences such as experience of suffering from HIV/AIDS in Namibia (Thomas, 2007) and women's experience of crime and (domestic) violence (Meth, 2003, 2004). While Myers (2010) has used solicited diaries with the purpose of giving "voice to marginalized experiences" (Myers, 2010: 3), Thomas' (2007) aim was to unearth experiences of living with a "stigmatized illness" (Thomas, 2007: 75). Based in an arguably less invasive and relatively more accessible research setting is Morrison's (2012) study. She has researched the everyday heterosexual normative spaces of the home by using solicited diaries written by women. Morrison's (2012) paper suggests that solicited diaries can be a useful way to 'do' research on emotional and embodied practices of everyday life.

This is because the moments which are recorded are isolated in space and time, which in turn reveal the multiple and complex nature of identities. Since solicited diaries are written with the awareness that they will be used for research, "the content was to an extent, guided" (Kenten, 2010: 10). Although such selectivity maintained by participants is considered a drawback of this method (Meth, 2003), the diaries were used as 'snapshots' (Morrison, 2012) of the social, spatial, and temporal lives of the students.

The postcolonial methodological aim to give voice to the participants is fulfilled by this method. Simultaneously, it reflects the subjectivities of the participants. Meth's (2003) study raised a number of ethical issues concerning the detailing of private experiences. This is understandable in the light of the group she studied. In the case of Indian students, the diaries were used as aids to understand their everyday geographies. They were analysed in conjunction with other methods and were used as a cue for the interviews. Both these methods are generally used in conjunction with semi-structured interviews which "adds rigour, breadth, complexity, richness, depth and creativity" (Bijoux and Myers, 2006) to the research project. In using the creative methods of self-directed photography and solicited diaries, interviews played an important part (Dodman, 2003; Ellis, 2003) because discussions about the photographs and diaries add the perspective of the participant in explaining the motivations and reasons behind the selection of the spaces and the omission of others. Since the students played a significant role in the research by investing their time in writing diaries and taking photographs, while also contributing to the interpretation of the same, I refer to them as participants and not respondents or subjects (Vanderstoep and Johnston, 2009).

3.3. Fieldwork in London and Toronto

Following the research design closely, fieldwork in London was conducted from May-September, 2009 and in Toronto from September, 2009-January, 2010 (See Appendix B). The first stage of the fieldwork involved recruiting participants, followed by conducting the interviews.

3.3.1. Research ethics

The "duties, obligations and responsibilities" (Gregory *et al*, 2009: 211) of a researcher towards their research are part of ethics and within this framework it is understood that 'all ethical decisions relating to research' cannot be taken at the onset (Cloke *et al*, 2000: 136). These decisions are contextual, situated, and need to be constantly reworked throughout the research process (Cloke *et al*, 2000). Taking this into consideration, ethical issues of safety, confidentiality, and anonymity formed an integral part of the research.

Barker and Smith's (2001) study on children emphasizes a combination of 'cautionary practice' (2001: 145) and reflexivity for the protection of the researched, the researcher, and the research. Before beginning my fieldwork, the research underwent a rigorous risk assessment exercise conducted by Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee (Ref. No. QMREC 2008/63). Since the research is multi-sited and multi-scalar, it raised certain ethical concerns regarding my personal safety. Although Toronto and London are familiar cities, I completed interviews within a reasonable time of the day. Secondly, I always notified someone (in most cases, a friend) of my whereabouts when leaving for my fieldwork in London and Toronto. Safety of the participants was also equally important. The interviews were always conducted at a time and place chosen by the

participant to ensure their comfort. However, scheduling interviews was always a process wherein both the participant and the researcher decided upon a convenient place and time.

In order to maintain anonymity of the participants, the research photographs were numbered and coded not by address but by the pseudonym of the participant. The addresses were not linked with the photographs. Although initially I suggested that the participant suggest a name to be used a pseudonym, most students were satisfied with the knowledge that pseudonyms would be used. So, I assigned pseudonyms to the participants based on their religion (Hindu, Jain, or Catholic) and regional origin (the different Indian states), making sure that they were common Indian names. Steps were also taken so that the photographs were sent electronically to a secure QMUL email address before travel from Toronto was undertaken. This ensured that in case of loss of baggage and consequently, loss of hard copies of photographs, they could be easily retrieved, and there was no way to link them to any addresses.

Confidentiality is an important aspect of the ethical nature of a research. I maintained confidentiality of the research results and also informed the participant in detail about the nature of the project with the help of an Information Sheet (see Appendix A). Additionally, since I employed 'snowball' sampling, there was a possibility of participants being pressured by their friends to take part in the project. I have avoided such situations by stating clearly in the Information Sheet and Consent Form (Appendix B) that participation is voluntary and the participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any given time, without the obligation of giving a reason for doing so. During the first interview, I also explained in person that there was no obligation to participate.

Anonymity was also assured and names of friends of participants were assigned a random alphabet. It was also explained to the participants that names would be mentioned if they specifically wished it. Any detail that might identify the participant was deleted during transcribing in order to protect the privacy of the participants.

3.3.2. Recruiting participants

My initial aim had been to interview 20 students each in London and Toronto, amounting to a total of 40 students. But as the fieldwork (especially in Toronto) progressed, I was able to recruit 16 participants in Toronto and 20 in London[21] due to time constraints as well as difficulties in locating Indian students. The number of participants is not a statistical sample representative of the total population. Since it is qualitative research, the number of participants selected was based on an illustrative sampling method (Valentine, 2001). This sampling method is suitable for the research design formulated, which focuses on an intensive qualitative research aimed to provide richness and depth while also illustrating the diversity among Indian students.

In both London and Toronto, the initial contacts through personal friendships and social networks were the most helpful means of recruiting participants. Since I had been a student at York University, Toronto, I had a few friends who were living in Toronto and they were able to introduce me to three of their friends. In London, a friend who had been in the same QM hall of residence where I had lived earlier gave me contacts of four of her friends at LSE. Another friend, a doctoral student at SOAS, circulated an email about my research among her friends and I was able to recruit two participants. I was introduced to a doctoral student at QM through another friend of mine. I recruited a total of six participants through this method. In Toronto, locating

[21] Details about the difficulties in recruitment in Toronto will follow later in the section.

Indian students was a much more difficult task. With the help of my friends I was able to recruit about five participants in the first two months. However, there were drawbacks. First, the participants felt obligated to 'help' me with my research because of the mutual friendship. In order to circumvent that possibility, I made sure that they understood that they could leave the research at any point in time and without an explanation (as explained in the Information Sheet). Secondly, owing to the common friendship, certain aspects of their lives (such as educational background in India) were similar. Although this posed a danger of generating commonalities in migration experiences and aspects of everyday life, it also added depth to the research.

Although finding participants through gatekeepers (Valentine, 2005) like South Asian Business Council (SABC) at the Schulich School of Business at YU involved persistence, they appeared to be the most helpful (Heller *et al*, 2011) as I recruited a total of five participants through them. From the response of participants to emails sent by the above-mentioned and other similar gatekeeper sources[22], it became clear that being a part of a similar social world (Warren, 2002) and having a similar identity (Valentine, 2005) were key during all stages of research but it was the most relevant during recruitment of participants. Being a YU Alumni was helpful for gaining access to certain places on YU campus which were out of bounds at U of T.

A snowball technique (Valentine, 2005) was another means through which I was able to recruit a total of twelve participants in London and Toronto. Although this meant that the participants were located within a limited group (belonging to the same discipline in most cases), it did not affect the diversity in terms of gender and their

[22] I had written to the co-ordinator of Indian Students' Society (ISS) at University of Toronto (U of T), who had informed me that they were unable to pass on requests for research purposes as there had been prior complaints from students.

hometowns in India. Social networking sites such as Facebook and Orkut[23] were not helpful in Toronto but in London, I recruited two participants through the social group in Orkut. I also used 'cold calling'[24] (Longhurst, 2010) to recruit one participant in Toronto. Other avenues which were explored but which yielded no response were putting up posters at YU; visiting (calling and emailing) student unions and cultural associations in London and Toronto; posting on the South Asia blog at YU; and international student offices (QM was an exception) in both cities. With time, it became apparent that personal contacts were the most helpful in recruiting participants in both cities; which in turn made me aware of my positionality as an international student and possibly, an outsider. However, I was satisfied with the overall diversity (in terms of gender, language, religion, relationship status, age, hometown in India) of students recruited (See Table 1).

3.3.3. Introducing the participants

Basic information about the participants (gender, age, relationship status, duration of their stay at the time of the interview), their hometowns, their accommodation situation in London and Toronto, and their university degree being pursued have been represented in a tabulated form (Table 1). Pseudonyms have been used and the participants are sequenced alphabetically. A detailed discussion follows.

A total of 16 female students and 20 male students were recruited. In Toronto, three male students and two female students were married. Apart from two male students in London and one in Toronto, all the rest were single. In terms of language, the students

[23] Orkut was an international social networking website owned by Google. It was shut down in September, 2014.
[24] I had circulated an introductory email to students whose surnames suggested their Indian origin on various department websites of YU and U of T.

represented the diversity of India[25] but all of them claimed to be comfortable in English, barring a couple of students who mentioned their mother tongue as the preferred language. However, with their consent, all interviews were conducted in English[26].

The participants of my study mostly came from metropolitan cities with a total of eleven men and nine women. Metropolitan cities of Kolkata and Delhi had a higher representation than other cities like Chennai, Mumbai, and Bengaluru. Among the bigger cities, there was one student in London from Pune. There were also students from smaller cities like Wayanad, Vechoochira in the south; Guwahati and Kohima in the north-east; Cuttack in the eastern coast; Baroda in the west; Chandannagore and Patna in the east; Bhopal in central India; Jaipur, Faridabad, Ambala, Lucknow, and Karnal in north India[27]. Although the distribution of hometowns among the thirty six participants was not a deliberate act, it represented the geographical diversity of the Indian student population.

The diversity in religion was also demonstrated with 30 Hindu, two Jain, and four Catholic students[28]. The age of students in Toronto ranged from 24 to 35 years while that in London was between 22 and 30 years. This was because many students in Toronto were pursuing an MBA degree after working for a few years in India. There were seven doctoral students in Toronto and two in London. A total of seven MBA students (six in Toronto and one in London), six MSc students (one in Toronto and

[25] The languages they spoke were Hindi, Tamil, Malayalam, Bengali, Assamese, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Oriya, Bhojpuri, Kannada and Telegu.
[26] Some participants used Hindi words during the interviews, which is generally the norm among the Indian urban youth. This indicated their level of comfort during the interview process. The mix of English and a regional language are referred to, for example, as Hinglish (Hindi and English), Benglish (Bengali and English), as the case may be.
[27] For a detailed discussion of students' hometowns, see Chapter Four.
[28] Of the two Jain students, one was from London and one from Toronto. There were two Catholic students each from the two cities. I was unable to locate any Indian Muslim postgraduate students. I had got in touch with an undergraduate Muslim student and a Bangladeshi Muslim doctoral student.

five in London), ten Law students (two in Toronto and eight in London), and four MA students from London were recruited. In terms of universities and colleges, while five students were recruited from U of T, eleven were from YU. In London, there was considerable diversity with three students from SOAS, two from Imperial, one from London Business School of Management, one from University of Westminster, one from UCL, four from LSE and eight from QMUL.

Table 1

Participant Information

Name, Gender (F/M), age, relationship status, mother tongue, religion, duration of stay, prior international travel	Hometown and accommodation	Degree and discipline
Amitav (M, 29): Married, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for one year and three months.	Hometown—Delhi. He lived alone in a university residence for graduate students on campus.	MBA, Management Studies
Anirban (M, 25): In a relationship, Bengali, Hindu, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Kohima. He lived in halls of residence at a distance from campus.	MSc, Business Management
Anjali (F, 23): Single, Punjabi, Hindu, was living in London for nine months.	Hometown—Delhi. She lived in halls of residence at a 30 minute walking distance from the college.	LLM, Legal Studies
Anthony (M, 24): Single, English, Catholic, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Bengaluru. He lived in a (catered) hall of residence at about 30 minute walking distance from the college.	LLM, Legal Studies
Anuradha (F, 26): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for ten months. She had lived in Switzerland with her parents as a child and had travelled in Europe during the time.	Hometown—Mumbai. She lived in the university halls of residence.	MA, Arts
Eeshwar (M, 26): Single, Kannada, Hindu, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Bengaluru. He lived in a private shared apartment at about ten minutes walking distance from campus.	LLM, Legal Studies
Gautam (M, 30): In a relationship, Bengali, Hindu, was living in London for four years. He had done his MA in USA. He had travelled in the US and Europe, alone, and with friends.	Hometown—Kolkata. He lived in a private shared house at a distance of 20-30 minutes from campus.	PhD, Humanities
Gitanjali (F, 30): Married, Assamese, Hindu, was living in Toronto for two years and four months. She frequently visited USA where her husband held a teaching position in a renowned university. She was a permanent resident of	Hometown—Guwahati. She lived alone in a university apartment for graduate students.	PhD, Social Sciences

Canada.		
Indranil (M, 25): Single, Bengali, Hindu, was living in London for eight months. His father and grandfather (father's uncle) had studied at UK universities.	Hometown—Kolkata. He lived in halls of residence, away a distance from the campus.	MSc, Business Management
Josh (M, 29): Single, Malayalam, Catholic, was living in Toronto for one year and two months.	Hometown—Vechoochira. He lived in a university shared accommodation.	PhD, Social Sciences
Khushi (F, 30): Married, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for three years. She had applied for a change in immigration status from international student to permanent resident, and was awaiting approval.	Hometown—Delhi. She lived with her husband in a private apartment in downtown Toronto. Before she was joined by her husband, she had lived in one of the university apartments for graduate students on campus and frequently recounted those days.	PhD, Social Sciences
Kiran (F, 35): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for five years and four months. She had travelled to Europe for academic conferences. She was a permanent resident of Canada.	Hometown—Kolkata. She lived alone in a university apartment for graduate students on campus.	PhD, Social Sciences
Lakshmi (F, 22): Single, Tamil, Hindu, was living in London for ten months. She had done her BA from Australia. Upon her return she was working in Hyderabad for a major multi-national company.	Hometown—Chennai. She lived in one of the halls of residence. After graduating, she went to Singapore to pursue a PhD in postcolonial literature.	MA, Humanities
Madan (M, 26): Single, Oriya, Hindu, was living in Toronto for four months. He used to visit Switzerland frequently for work-related projects.	Hometown—Cuttack. He shared a university graduate apartment on campus.	MBA, Management Studies
Monica (F, 24): Single, English, Catholic, was living in Toronto for one year and three months. She had travelled with her parents to Europe earlier.	Hometown—Kolkata. She lived in a university co-operative housing.	LLM, Legal Studies
Murthi (M, 24): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for two years. He was doing his Masters from University of York but had not been granted a degree due to poor performance.	Hometown—Delhi. He lived in the university halls of residence.	MSc, Software Engineering
Narayanan (M, 23): Single, Tamil, Hindu, was living in London for ten months. He was working in Bengaluru before moving to London.	Hometown—Chennai. He lived in a private shared accommodation at a seven-minute walking distance from campus.	MSc, Software Engineering
Nayantara (F, 30): Single, Bengali, Hindu, was living in Toronto for two years. She did her MSc from Rutgers	Hometown—Kolkata. She shared a private apartment with a roommate in downtown Toronto.	PhD, Biological Sciences

University, USA. During her stay in the US she had travelled to Mexico with her friends and to Portugal for an academic conference.		
Nisha (F, 24): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for ten months. She was working in Mumbai prior to her decision to pursue an international higher education degree.	Hometown—Ambala. She lived in one of the university halls of residence.	LLM, Legal Studies
Pooja (F, 22): Single, Bengali, Hindu, was living in London for one year and one month. She was working in India prior to her migration to London.	Hometown—Baroda. She lived in a private shared residence.	MA, Finance Management
Prasanna (M, 25): Single, Tamil, Hindu, was living in Toronto for four months. He was working in India prior to his migration to Canada.	Hometown—Chennai. He shared a graduate apartment on campus with a roommate.	MBA, Management Studies
Praveen (M, 28): Single, Punjabi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for one year and two months. He was working in India before deciding to pursue an MBA. He had also lived in the US for six months on a work-related project.	Hometown—Karnal. He shared a graduate apartment on campus with a roommate.	MBA, Management Studies
Raj (M, 26): Married, English, Hindu, was living in Toronto for five months.	Hometown—Bengaluru. He lived in a shared private residence in downtown Toronto.	MBA, Management Studies
Richa (F, 23): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for ten months. She had travelled to Europe earlier with her parents.	Hometown—Mumbai. She lived in the university halls of residence.	LLM, Legal Studies
Rishi (M, 27): In a relationship, Punjabi and Bengali, Hindu, was living in London for two years. He had lived in the US as a child with his uncle till he was a teenager. After his return to India, he went to Australia to get an undergraduate degree. He returned briefly to India to work for a few years, after which he applied for a Masters in the UK.	Hometown—Kolkata. He lived at a ten-minute walking distance from the campus in a shared private residence.	MSc, Computer Science
Rohan (M, 29): Married, Hindi, Jain, was living in Toronto for three years. He was a permanent resident of Canada. As part of his Engineering degree in India, he had done a six-month internship in Toronto. He forfeited his PhD and returned to India a couple of days after the interviews.	Hometown—Bhopal. He lived alone on in one of the graduate student residences on campus.	After completing Masters in Computer Science, he had enrolled in the PhD programme but dropped out midway to return to his wife in India.

Sahil (M, 30): In a relationship, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for ten years. He had not applied for a Permanent Residency but was contemplating doing so.	Hometown—Delhi. He shared with his girlfriend in a private (rented) apartment in downtown Toronto.	PhD, Social Sciences
Saurav (M, 28): Single, Bengali, Hindu, was living in Toronto for five years. He was a permanent resident of Canada. He had lived in New York while working as an intern in a Law firm.	Hometown—Chandannagore. He lived alone in a private residence in downtown Toronto.	Bar at Law (preparing for exams) after completing LLM
Shankar (M, 27): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for eleven months. He had lived in the UK as a child when his father was doing his higher education in Medicine.	Hometown—Patna. He lived in halls of residence on campus. After briefly returning to India after completion of degree, he later went to the US for a doctoral degree.	LLM, Legal Studies
Shruti (F, 24): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for one year and three months. She had lived in Paris for a year on an internship before coming to Canada.	Hometown—Faridabad. She lived in a shared graduate residence on campus with a friend.	MSc, Computer Science
Soroshi (F, 25): Single, Bengali and Assamese, Hindu, was living in London for eleven months. Before coming to London, she was working in Delhi as a journalist in a leading national newspaper.	Hometown—Guwahati. She lived in a private shared house.	MA, Broadcast Journalism
Tanvi (F, 24): Single, Marathi, Hindu, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Pune. She lived in halls of residence on campus.	LLM, Legal Studies
Tarun (M, 27): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in Toronto for one year and two months.	Hometown—Lucknow. He shared a university graduate apartment on campus with a friend.	MBA, Management Studies
Teresa (F, 29): Single, English and Malayalam, Catholic, was living in London for one year and two months. She had done her MSc from USA. After returning to India, she was teaching in a college in Chennai.	Hometown—Wayanad. She lived in a shared accommodation above the campus chapel.	PhD, Formal Sciences
Vidya (F, 22): Single, Tamil, Hindu, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Mumbai. She lived in one of the university halls of residence.	MA, Arts
Vivek (M, 25): Single, Hindi, Hindu, was living in London for ten months.	Hometown—Jaipur. He lived in one of the LSE halls of residence.	LLM, Legal Studies

3.3.4. Conducting interviews and writing field notes

The first interviews were shorter, lasting for about an hour on average while the second interviews were an hour and a half long on average. Interviews were recorded (Dunn, 2005) using a digital recorder and an external microphone was fitted close to the participant's mouth[29] for better sound quality. In situations where the interviews were held in public places like cafés, this turned out to be very useful as the microphone filtered out most of the background noise. I always carried spare batteries in case of equipment malfunction, along with a notebook in case students refused to have the interview recorded (Valentine, 2005). A couple of participants felt intimidated by the interviews being recorded. When I said that I was willing to turn off the recorder and write down notes instead, both of them re-considered their decision as it would inconvenience me. The relationship between researcher and participant was brought into question as the participant in this case felt a sense of control over the situation since they were given a choice. Participants were asked to choose the place for the interviews. Interviews were conducted in public places like parks and cafés; in university spaces such as (empty) lecture theatres and campus coffee shops; in residences of the students (in London) and some were even conducted in the apartment where I stayed during my fieldwork in Toronto. Female students were more comfortable inviting me to their dwellings, while male students preferred meeting in public places. At the first meeting (and interview), participants were given the Information Sheet (Appendix A). Once they had read it and had showed their satisfaction with the information provided, they were asked to read and sign two copies of the Consent Form (Appendix B). One copy was given to them for their records. At the end of the first interview, the participants who did not have a camera were given

[29] The participants were requested to fit the microphone on themselves.

disposable cameras[30]. For the purpose of writing a diary, the participants were offered a journal but all 14 diarists (See Appendix E) declined my offer. The second interview was scheduled after the participants finished writing the diary. On an average, the gap between the two interviews was 20 days in Toronto (Table 2) and 26 days in London (Table 3).

Table 2

Time gap between interviews: Toronto

Name of participant	**Time gap (days)**	**Reason (if any)**
Amitav	35	Study-related
Gitanjali	8	Study-related
Josh	26	Moving
Khushi	14	Study-related
Kiran	1	Study-related
Madan	27	Study-related
Monica	12	Study-related
Nayantara	17	Study-related
Prasanna	30	Visit to Montreal
Praveen	6	Study-related
Raj	32	Study-related
Rohan	1	Moving to India
Sahil	28	Study-related
Saurav	8	Study-related
Shruti	38	Study-related
Tarun	39	Study-related

[30] An additional meeting was arranged wherein they returned the disposable cameras and I printed all the photographs. They were subsequently numbered with the help of the participants during the second interview. Disposable cameras were used only in London by six participants.

AVERAGE	**20.125 Days**	

The main reason for this was the difficulty in setting up a date because most students in London were writing their dissertations (May-September) and in Toronto (September-January), they were busy with various study-related activities like assignments and term paper submissions. Other reasons included moving, a trip, visit from parents, and attending an academic conference in another city.

Table 3

Time gap between interviews: London

Name of participant	**Time gap between interviews (days)**	**Reason (if any)**
Anirban	7	Study-related
Anjali	21	Mother's visit
Anthony	21	Trip with friends
Anuradha	30	Study-related
Eeshwar	7	Study-related
Gautam	19	Study-related
Indranil	30	Study-related
Lakshmi	14	Study-related
Murthi	7	Study-related
Narayanan	21	Study-related
Nisha	44	Study-related
Pooja	30	Study-related
Richa	7	Study-related
Rishi	30	Study-related
Shankar	7	Study-related
Soroshi	44	Study-related

Tanvi	51	Conference
Teresa	51	Study-related
Vidya	51	Parents' visit
Vivek	30	Study-related
AVERAGE	**26.1 Days**	

The second interviews were longer because participants described the photographs in detail and seemed more interested in sharing those visual moments with me. 14 participants were able to commit to writing weekly diaries. This was due to lack of time in some cases, and in case of some male students, they felt that it was a feminine activity. This perception affected the recruitment process, especially in Toronto. In cases where participants showed reluctance about writing a diary, I modified the questions during the second interview to accommodate an oral narration of their weekly activities. In case of photographs, participants who were not able to take photographs over a week due to time constraints instead shared photographs (taken at an earlier time) of places and events which represented their everyday lives as international students. This indicated that photographing aspects of everyday life was an important part of their international sojourn.

Many participants mentioned that they took photographs on a regular basis and therefore did not find the activity to be out of the ordinary. Some of them mentioned how there were moments/places they had wanted to capture but were unable to do so because they did not have the camera with them at the time. Participants also expressed discomfort with taking photographs of friends because of confidentiality issues. This was despite me assuring them that no faces would be displayed, which indicated their self-awareness about ethical issues. Some students were averse to taking photographs

of their rooms (especially male students) because they either felt self-conscious (Ellis, 2003) or valued their privacy. Finally, some students also shared concerns about taking photographs in public places as they were afraid of attracting too much attention. In fact, one of the participants in London encountered a problem where security personnel had approached him for attempting to take a photograph of a CCTV camera[31]. I had anticipated such difficulties and had explained to the participants in the first interview that they should only take photographs (of people and places) within their comfort zone and many participants mentioned such moments when they had to make decisions about whether or not to take photographs. Others also mentioned that some of their friends had refused to being photographed because they knew that it was for a research project. Several participants admitted that taking a closer look at their lives (through diaries and photographs) was a reflexive exercise for them as many realized how their lives were restricted within certain routine everyday spaces (Latham, 2010).

Writing a diary for someone else also posed to be a difficult task for some students who felt that they had to modify their writing style so as to be more coherent. As Latham (2003) noted, most participants were willing to talk about their lives because it was a new and exciting experience, in most cases. Their everyday life was not something they gave much thought to because they were more preoccupied with adjusting to the economic, social, cultural changes in their lives. But by writing the diaries or discussing their daily lives gave them an opportunity to appreciate how their changed lifestyles had an impact on them (Latham, 2010). Reflexivity was a part of the interview process for me because I was made aware of my positionality as a researcher

[31] The participant had not got into trouble but while sharing the incident with me, he had explained that he had wanted to take the photograph because he was fascinated with the sheer number of CCTV cameras in London.

and reflected on whether this had an impact on the interviews. However, I was also aware that reflexivity is never straightforward and I do not claim to have ever fully understood my positionality (Rose, 1997), except that it was a constant negotiation.

Since I was a stranger to most students, they admitted to opening up to me to discuss aspects of their everyday lives. This indicated my positionality as an outsider (Adriansen and Madsen, 2009). Others stated that they could openly critique India, Canada or UK because I was a fellow Indian student. Participants claimed that they felt responsible for putting forward the best of Indian culture in front of domestic and other international friends because they felt like they were ambassadors for India. Simultaneously, my cultural proximity as an insider made the interviews much easier as I was able to relate to a number of cultural aspects of everyday life (Ganga and Scott, 2006). In order to engage the participants in using methods such as self-directed photography and solicited diaries, a degree of familiarity with the participants is an essential part (Latham, 2003). Thus, being an insider (in terms of nationality but not necessarily regional identity), put me in an advantageous position. There were instances when my identity as an international student and someone who had lived in Toronto and London became problematic as they took for granted some of my knowledge of the cities. This proved to be a challenge sometimes because I had to use probes (Valentine, 2005) to break this knowledge assumption (Adriansen and Madsen, 2009). I could ask these follow-up questions (Cook and Crang, 1995) because of my familiarity with the 'field', i.e. London and Toronto. My familiarity with the cities and some of the campuses was also helpful as I could share information (Valentine, 2005) or experience as a student about specific places which sometimes participants would overlook as being too mundane, and this was especially so in cases where students narrated their weekly routine orally (Latham, 2010). My positionality as a woman did not seem to

create a problem except for situations where male students preferred to meet me in a public place or my apartment for an interview instead of inviting me to their residence, which female students did more often. On a rare occasion a participant mentioned that my being a doctoral student made him feel inferior (Bhopal, 1997) because he was pursuing an MSc degree. In summary, the complex and multi-faceted nature of simultaneously being an insider and outsider (Mullings, 1999) was revealed during the interviews.

After each interview I spent some time either at the interview site (if it was a public place) or chose a quiet place nearby (if it was in the participant's dwelling) to reflect and write down my thoughts about the interview in the form of field diaries (see Appendix F for an example). Hammersley and Atkinson (2009) mention the significance of writing field notes during fieldwork. After every interview, I maintained a detailed diary of what I felt, observed and thought during the interview and the emerging themes which were subsequently compiled. When interviews were conducted in public places, I jotted down a few important points (in cafés, trains and libraries), which I later elaborated upon. Although it seemed difficult and time-consuming at the time, they proved to very valuable later during the stage of transcription and analysis of the data.

3.4. Post-fieldwork

In an attempt to establish rigour in the research, I followed the guidelines set by Baxter and Eyles (1997) regarding conscientious research in every phase. Crang (2005) also emphasizes the importance of 'rigour' in the act of (re)presentation of information.

This is a crucial aspect of research, and as a researcher, I was aware of the responsibilities of representing the 'voice' of my participants.

3.4.1. Transcription and Analysis: interviews

To begin with, each interview was transcribed in full with [...] symbolizing pauses (Dunn, 2005). All 72 interviews were transcribed verbatim (Poland, 1995). Since Discourse Analysis was not the chosen method of analysis, these pauses and silences were later 'tidied up' (Jackson, 2001) for a clearer representation of the actual content of the interviews. Pseudonyms were assigned to each participant depending on their regional identity and gender to protect their identities (Longhurst, 2010). To make coding easier, each paragraph was assigned a number during transcription. Although transcribing was a time-consuming process with approximately an hour-long interview taking five hours to type, the exercise was beneficial in a number of ways. First, it helped me to get closer to the data and second, since a transcript "should be the *best possible record* [italics in original] of the interview" (Dunn, 2005: 73); it helped in avoiding inadvertent mistakes which might have been the case had someone else transcribed them (Poland, 2002). Each transcript had a title with the pseudonym of the participant, the interview date, time, place, and duration (Dunn, 2005). Besides, since two interviews were conducted with each participant, the number of the interview was assigned alongside the name of the participant (e.g. Gautam1/Gautam2) for easier access later. A broad margin was left on both sides of the page for coding later, and pages were numbered too with the running title (Crang, 2005)

Since I had transcribed 72 interviews in full, amounting to a total of 853 pages of typed transcripts, I was faced with the challenge of coding (for an example, see Appendix G)

the data in ways which would help me identify themes pertaining to the research in meaningful ways. Cope (2010) defines coding as the 'evaluation and organizing of data' in order to understand the different meanings in the text. In order to set about the task, I referred to the field notes which I had written during the fieldwork, after each interview. The initial ideas about the interviews and the emerging themes of the research which I had jotted down in the field notes helped me in the early stages of coding. The ideas that emerged from this close reading of the material were noted down in a separate document or 'theoretical memos' (Crang, 2010). They were labelled appropriately so that I could refer back to the material from which the ideas had been extracted. The actual coding process was, as anticipated, 'circular, sporadic, and messy' (Cope, 2010: 445). It was also an "iterative process" (Crang, 2005: 224). First, each line of each interview was coded, a process called 'descriptive coding' (Cope, 2010). This resulted in a large number of codes, which were, at the second stage analytically framed (Charmaz, 2002) and by connecting with the research questions, ascribed a second set of codes called 'analytic codes' (Cope, 2010)[32]. As the open coding accumulated along the margins of the transcripts, they were written down in separate 'theoretical memos' (Crang, 2005). Re-reading (Cope, 2010) and re-listening (to the audio recordings) was a crucial part of the coding process (Dunn, 2005) as was also 'reading across the material' (Jackson, 2001) and working "back and forth through the transcript" (Silverman, 2000: 831). In case of re-reading and contextualizing the interviews (Silverman, 2000), it became apparent that the 'categories and patterns' (Cope, 2010) which had taken shape in the London interviews were not the same in the Toronto ones. Also, what had first appeared to be a gendered practice was recognised to be related to other abstract concepts. The analytic codes were then grouped and re-grouped (Jackson, 2001)

[32] For an example of the descriptive and analytic codes, see Appendix G

according to the spatial scales (dwelling, university, and city) which had been earlier identified as the three most important spaces of the students' everyday lives (See Chapter One) forming 'discursive repertoires' (Jackson, 2001). Since these highlighted not only the generalizations but also the variations, several aspects of the research came to light which were previously not recognised. Therefore, paying attention to the minute details as well as the bigger picture resulted in the building of inductive themes as the data was allowed 'to speak' (Cope, 2010). As the themes were built from such analytical interpretation, they were corroborated with the field notes which resulted in revisiting the research questions and their further refinement (Cope, 2010). The same kind of coding strategies were applied for analysing diaries.

3.4.2. Analyzing diaries

Diary-writing appeared to be a very difficult exercise as only 14 students (10 in London and four in Toronto) returned completed diaries. Two were handwritten, 11 were typed and sent to me through email, and one was typed, printed and returned. One of the 'organizational' aspects of selecting diarists (Latham, 2010) is to consider whether they would be able to commit to such a time-consuming activity. This was one of the stumbling blocks of the research as most participants agreed to take part if they could orally narrate their week and supplement them with photographs, instead of 'writing' a diary. It would appear that participants were more interested in producing 'photo-diaries' (Latham, 2010). In reality, the photographs were not records of day-to-day events, places, and actors but were visual summaries of their everyday lives, interspersed with important/significant places and even people (in some cases). However, the diaries were important glimpses of everyday lives of the students and they were read several times over using a thematic approach. This resulted in a large

number of descriptive and analytic codes (Cope, 2010). These were further refined when the diaries and interviews were analysed together to draw out the connections and "to consider the participants' narrative(s) across the two methods" (Kenten, 2010: 7). The inductive codes and 'discursive repertoires' (Jackson, 2001) were then collated with the photographs providing continuity and contextualization (Kenten, 2010). The diaries were also read together for a better understanding of the content and topics of discussion. Such reading and re-reading 'across the material' (Jackson, 2001) was important for understanding the diversity of experiences. Not only was there diversity in the content, but also in "the style, detail, focus and depth of the diaries" (Latham, 2010: 193). Style of writing ranged from (four) short narratives, (one) long narrative, (one) summary of the week, (three) logs comprising of a couple of sentences for each day in the form of bullet points, two time-logs detailing date and time for activities (Latham, 2010), two participant-selected themes, and one letter format. Rishi's long narrative about his everyday was a more personal account and adhered most to the form of a personal diary rather than a solicited diary. Among the short narratives, Gautam's diary stood out as the most interesting not least because of the lucid writing style but because it was part of a larger narrative about his embodied, sensory, and emotional experiences of London. Vidya and Nayantara wrote about the key aspects of their everyday lives. While Vidya focussed on four main pre-determined themes (walks, a park, a coffee shop, and her interaction with her flatmates), Nayantara selected the central aspect of each day under headings[33] similar to a short-story format. The content of the diaries depicted the "everyday *repetitive present*" [Italics in original] (Kenten, 2010:

[33] The title for each day were 'Deadlines' (about a deadline for research grants), 'Trip to Cairo' (movie-watching at the Toronto International Film Festival), 'Parzania' (a Bollywood movie-watching experience at home), 'Biriyani' (cooking her favourite Indian food), 'TGIF' (enjoying a Friday evening with a South Asian friend), 'Holiday season ushered in' (singing Christmas carols and making gingerbread house with Canadian and international friends), 'Real gift giving over the holidays' (her involvement with an Indian NGO). All these reflected aspects of her student life and her transnational and local connections.

7) across and within individual diaries. This was most evident in diaries written in the form of logs (Anjali, Khushi, and Nisha) and time-logs (Anthony and Monica). On the other hand, due to the predictability of his daily routine, Raj summarized a week day and a weekend instead of writing daily due to lack of time. Pooja wrote her diary in the form of a letter and ended with a note addressed to me saying, "Thanks for the patience and [for] reading it. And good luck for your research work. Do well. Regards, etc." (Undated, Pooja's diary, London). There were several other occasions where the presence of the researcher was written into the text[34] (Morrison, 2012) and which also indicated the awareness of the participants about the purpose of the diary (Bijoux and Myers, 2006). This however, raises the question about the "validity and the 'truthfulness' of diary entries" (Meth, 2003a: 202). As Meth (2003a) asserts, it is difficult to assess or overcome this drawback. I can only hope that the follow-up interviews (which discussed the diary entries in detail) have been able to fill in the 'omissions' (Meth, 2003a) and the photographs were able to supplement their narratives.

3.4.3. Analyzing photographs

As noted by Lombard (2013), analysing visual materials as part of a research project has not received much attention in Human Geography and other disciplines (Noland, 2006). It is generally agreed upon that the interviews accompanying (and thereby, explaining) the photographs are an important part of autophotography (Lombard, 2013), a process which Rose (2007) terms photo-elicitation. Photo-elicitation relies on the interviews with the participants wherein the photographs are discussed (and interpreted) primarily by the interviewees. The photographs are used as supporting the

[34] Some examples are as follows. "Met Subhadra" (Khushi's diary, 20th November, 2009, Toronto), "On the way back I remembered I should take pics and write a diary for Subhadra" (Narayanan's diary, 6th July, 2009, London).

interviews and the interviews and photographs are interpreted in conjunction. Rose (2007) explains that photo-elicitation methods may "alter both the quantity and the nature of interview material" (Rose, 2007: 241). As the term self-directed photography implies, the photographs are taken by the participants, and the researcher relies on the interpretation and explanation provided by the participants in the follow-up interviews. The most obvious problem that may be encountered in this process is that of 'double interpretation' (Lombard, 2013); which, in my research was avoided by linking the explanations to the photographs. In fact, Noland (2006) even goes further to say that photo-elicitation methods (which incorporate photographs into interviews) need not "separate the interpretation of narratives and photographs" (Noland, 2006: 8). This was a helpful exercise as there were numerous overlaps when I considered the photographs individually without the contextual explanation of the participants. They could be categorized more easily when understood from the perspective of the participants.

There were a total of 812 photographs with 310 and 502 from Toronto and London participants respectively. Overall, students in London shared more photographs than their Toronto counterparts. To organize the photographs, I created separate folders (City, University, Dwelling) and placed the photographs according to the three themes. This was dependent upon how the participants articulated the photographs because there were overlaps in the three categories. 288 photographs of the category of 'City-London' and 112 photos of 'City-Toronto' were shared. This reflected the degree of engagement with urban spaces (discussed in Chapter Five). There were 133 photographs of university spaces from London and 88 from Toronto with a total of 221 photos. Photographs of the category 'Dwelling' shared by individual students ranged from nil to 48 (Rohan). The total number in London was 82 and in Toronto there were 111 photographs of the 'Dwelling'. This is concluded from the number of

photographs shared of the dwelling, university spaces, and city spaces. While there was a staggering 400 photographs of city spaces and 221 university spaces, there were only 193 photographs of dwelling spaces. Added to this, some participants explicitly mentioned that they were uncomfortable taking and sharing photographs of their rooms as it was extremely private. Each photo was also assigned a code comprising of a combination (e.g. SoroshiLp1) of the name of the participant (Soroshi), the city (L for London) and the number of the photograph (p1). The number was assigned to the photograph in the sequence that they were discussed in the interview by the participants. These codes were also used in the interview transcripts, making it easier to link the discussion to the photographs.

During analysis of the photographs care was taken to obscure the faces and any other forms of identification of the students (and their friends, if they were present in the photograph) in order to keep their anonymity intact (Johnsen *et al*, 2008). This was done with the help of the free Google software Picasa (ver.3) which is easily downloadable from the internet. In the editing section, one is able to blur faces by clicking on the "retouch" option. By selecting the brush size and selecting the area to be 'retouched', the faces in the photos were blurred. This was guided by the general ethical principles of qualitative research involving people. In the diaries, the names of their friends (where mentioned) were assigned a random alphabet. Names of residences and places where they had negative experiences were also removed bearing in mind their safety and security. During the analysis phase of the research, I was faced with a dilemma regarding the apparent contradiction between the religious practices of the students in their dwelling (as depicted in photographs) and their response to the question 'do you practice your religion?' In most cases, students responded to the latter in the negative, but while sharing photographs, I noticed that students who had in the

first interview mentioned that they did not practice their religion had some form of religious icon in their room. Not only was the presence conspicuous, but they also mentioned Hindu practices of worship such as lighting a lamp or bowing their heads. This directed my attention to the gap between religious and everyday (social) practice. There were several layers of meaning attached to the idols which were also intricately connected with stories of migration/mobility, home, gender, and belonging. In this case, my positionality as an Indian was helpful in situating (Rose, 1997) the phenomenon without creating undue bias or misinterpreting the data. This also indicated the intrinsic relationship between reflexivity and positionality (McDowell, 1992).

3.4.4. Data (re)presentation

While (re)presenting the data, especially photographs, I 'tidied up' (Jackson, 2001) the images by editing them. I gave each photograph an $1^{1/2}$pt border and reduced the size to 6cm X 8cm (approximately, and with exceptions) by using the 'format picture' option in Microsoft Office Word 2007. The purpose was to give all the photographs a uniform look and I remained mindful of not tampering with the content of the photograph in any way. In cases where the reduction in size affected the shape of the image (by distorting it), I compromised with the size of the image and reduced it only to a size which would entail minimum distortion. In five instances (as will be identified in the chapters), I made a collage[35] of several photographs using Picasa because the participants had explained the context of the photographs in continuation, in the form of a 'visual narrative' (Datta, 2012). To keep the narration intact, I opted to combine the photographs. Using Picasa, I created a collage by selecting photos and clicking on

[35] Vivek shared a collage of the three important buses of London (See Chapter Five).

the option "create photo collage". Automatically, a collage is computed by the software which can be further edited, e.g. changing the sequence of photos. Bijoux and Myers (2006) consider such 'secondary activities' of creating collages and sequencing of images as a way to "both contextualize [...] and further articulate their meaning" (2006: 49).

Conclusions

The intrinsic relationship between methodologies and methods has been detailed in this chapter, and it sets the stage for understanding migrations and mobilities of the Indian students in London and Toronto. The methods also justify the claim to represent the everyday lives of the students within the context of living in a foreign city and the imbrications of ideas of migration/mobilities and place-making in three spatial scales of the dwelling, the university, and the city; which will be discussed in the later chapters. The chapter also helps ground the research within the framework of the experiences of migration and helps contextualize their lives prior to migration, which is the main focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Migration stories: Multiple routes and roots of travel/dwelling, home, and identities

Introduction

> ... Toronto is my work home, as in, if I decide I can work here [...] because I can't be working here and saying that I don't belong here. India would be the core home. Yeah, like you say in Hindi *janmabhoomi* versus *karmabhoomi*. It's like that but a little more than that because this is my *karmabhumi* but I am also here for making relationships, knowing more people. So, it's like having more homes ... – Amitav (Toronto, 17th December, 2009)

Janma means birth, and *bhoomi* is earth or land in Sanskrit. So, the literal translation of *janmabhoomi* is birthplace, or more commonly used, homeland. *Janmabhoomi* does not simply refer to the place where one is born. It refers to the place where one spends a considerable period of one's life, signifying that one's primary social circle is based there. On the other hand, *Karma* (a Sanskrit word) is laden with deep philosophical connotations in Hinduism. The concept of *janmabhoomi* and *karmabhoomi* refers to the Hindu God, Krishna's life[36]. According to Hindu mythology, he was born in Mathura (in the modern state of Uttar Pradesh), His *janmabhoomi*, but He established His kingdom in Dwarka (in the modern state of Gujarat), which was His *karmabhoomi*. Apparently dichotomous, there is intertwined within the binary of *Janmabhoomi/Karmabhoomi* the dualism of stasis/mobility. The distinction that Amitav made between *janmabhoomi* and *karmabhoomi* indicates the nature and purpose of his migration. Like Lord Krishna, Amitav travelled far from home to fulfil his destiny. While India as the 'core home' reflects origin, stability, permanence as well as signifying a past, Toronto is the current and temporary home and signifies mobility. His

[36] During the anti-colonial movement, early nationalists in a bid to raise awareness among the (predominantly male) masses commonly personified India as the mother and the land as *matrubhoomi* (motherland), to be freed from the shackles of colonial oppression.

theorization of the simultaneity of home also explains the idea of home being both here and there, while referring to the intrinsic relationship between home and sociality. So, Amitav elaborated that although Toronto is his *karmabhoomi*, he is not detached from it because living in Toronto also involves forging new relationships and entails inter-cultural interaction. A discussion of the multiple layers of meaning attached to the idea of home within the context of migration is the central theme of this chapter. It mainly focuses on the routes and roots (Clifford, 1997) of migration which lead to the moment of 'leaving home' or departure. By focusing on the 'roots' of migration and the various different 'routes' through which students arrived at their destinations, the processual nature of migration is brought to the fore. This also helps contextualize the lives of Indian students prior to their lives in London and Toronto and lays the foundation for understanding 'home' through the theoretical underpinnings of migration, mobility, and transnationalism. By focussing on the motivations for migration, the chapter also questions postcoloniality as the pre-condition for migration among Indian students.

The main argument of this chapter is that place plays a crucial role in the decision-making process prior to migration. The reasons for selecting a country and a university are linked with the motivations for migration. However, the relationship between the choice of a university or destination country (Llewellyn-Smith and McCabe, 2008) is not straight-forward. The multi-faceted nature of student migration and especially, the motivations behind such migration (apart from pursuing a degree) is discussed in this chapter. Situating the Indian students in the centre of the study, their identities are brought to the fore in the discussion about the motivations for migration. As a result, the study reveals that place plays a key role in the motivations for migration. This

relates to Raghuram's (2013) theorization of international student mobility wherein she argues that knowledge acquisition is the distinctive feature of student mobility globally and that space is central to this knowledge production in three ways. According to Raghuram (2013), 'knowledge as a global commodity' positions certain 'centres of knowledge' through power structures, technologies and circulation with 'individuals' (i.e. international students) as actors and agents of the production and re-production of knowledge. This conceptual framework is useful in understanding the 'how' and the 'why' of student migration. While I recognise that there is no singular category of 'Indian student' as there are several differences in language, place of origin, religion, and gender; all of which affect their experiences of international education; it is also crucial to take into consideration the different reasons for migration as determining the destination for migration. The socio-spatiality of identities is explored through the motivations for migration to UK and Canada, thereby unearthing the complex and multi-layered interaction between places and identities. By focusing on the lives of Indian students in India, I contextualize them and locate their migration trajectories within the fold of the discussion.

While the lived experiences of migration will be discussed in the subsequent chapters, this chapter focuses on the lives of Indian students in their hometowns. In order to contextualize lives of Indian students prior to migration, I briefly discuss their lifestyle patterns at home, in the city, and their migration patterns nationally and globally in Section 4.1. This sets the stage for understanding the significance of international higher education for Indian students within international student mobility. The common reasons for migration (as identified by the participants) are discussed in Section 4.2. I take the importance of an international higher education degree for Indian students as the starting point of the discussion. This pertains to the idea of an

international degree as social/cultural capital, and which contextualizes Indian students within the spaces of migration. The remaining two sections focus on London and Toronto as destination choices. Section 4.3 focuses on the importance of place and its relationship with identities of Indian students in London and finally, in Section 4.4 I discuss the motivations behind the selection of Canada as a destination country.

4.1. Contextualizing lives of Indian students prior to departure

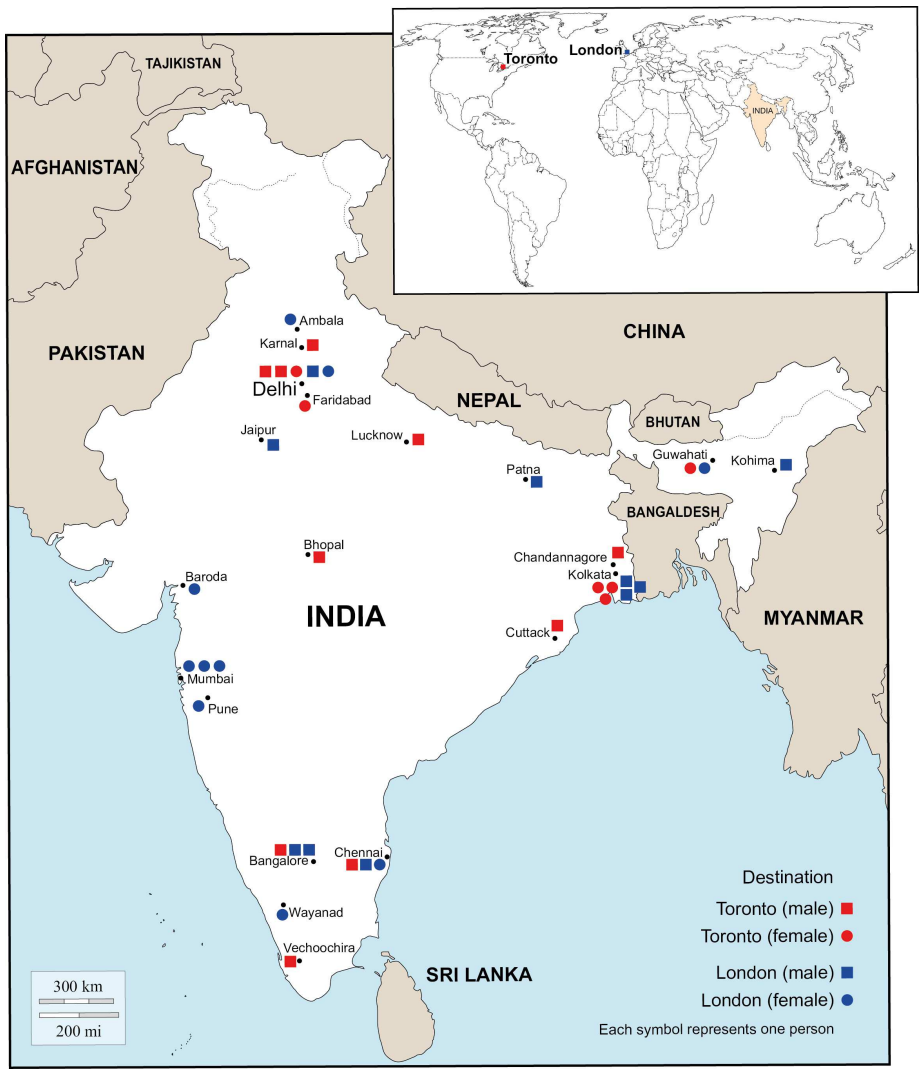

Figure 1: Map of India showing hometowns of students

While considering the 'roots' of migration, I was faced with the dilemma of defining 'hometown'. To the question, 'what is your hometown?' several students asked me

instead, 'do you mean where I was born?' I had to therefore leave the definition to the students. This was relevant because in some cases, although they had lived in a different city for a considerable time, they considered the place where they were born as their hometown.

Among the cities in India, students from Kolkata and Delhi were the highest in number with six and five respectively. There were three students each from the other metropolitan cities of Mumbai, Chennai, and Bengaluru. Three men and seven women from smaller cities were part of the study. There were a total of ten men from metropolitan cities, with three each from Delhi, Kolkata, and Bengaluru and two from Chennai. Similarly, there were a total of nine women from cities of Kolkata (three), Mumbai (three), Delhi (two) and Chennai (one). Two out of three men from Delhi were in Toronto, while all three men from Kolkata were in London. Two out of three men from Bengaluru were in London. All three women from Mumbai were in London and all three women from Kolkata were in Toronto. Four women from smaller cities like Wayanad, Guwahati, Baroda, and Ambala were in London; compared to one woman (each) from Guwahati and Faridabad, in Toronto. A total of eight students from smaller cities were in London compared to seven in Toronto. Although no apparent pattern can be ascertained from this distribution, but if we divide India into different regions, then a spatial connection emerges. In Toronto, there were 13 students from north India and three from south India, while in London there was a much even distribution across the different states (see Fig. 1).

In order to understand the everyday lives and spatialities of Indian students in London and Toronto, it is important to understand the lives that they lived in India prior to migration. For the purpose, I look at those aspects of everyday life which will be

discussed in the following chapters and connect them with their pre-departure context. By analysing the interview material, it was noted that not much difference existed in the way of life of students living in cities or smaller towns. Therefore, gender and marital status were taken as the main variables for understanding the different socio-spatial aspects of life in India, which had a bearing on the everyday lives of students after migration. These are discussed below.

4.1.1. Social life in India

Students in both London and Toronto had mentioned that they felt a relative social isolation compared with their lives in India. This was not only due to the presence and proximity of family and friends but also because of the relative freedom of mobility. Ten students in London and seven students in Toronto had access to a personal car or a motorcycle/scooter in India. Although students in London appreciated the connectivity and convenience of the public transport system, they mentioned that they missed their personal vehicle. However, they also acknowledged that owning a car in London or Toronto would be an expensive proposition considering their status as students. Financial considerations were a major cause for putting limits on their mobilities. This was especially true in Toronto where students mentioned how they limited their commute within the city in order to save money.

If freedom of mobility was a cause for concern, personal freedom was an issue that (mostly female) students discussed. Here too, spatial differences were noted. While nine out of ten women in London admitted going out with friends at night, two out of six women mentioned feeling comfortable doing so in Toronto. All the students stated that they continued to dress the way they did in India, which was mostly in Jeans and T-shirts (deSouza *et al*, 2009). The students (both men and women) also felt that there

was no pressure of societal surveillance on their behaviour in public, like they faced in India. They cited several examples of how their behaviour in London and Toronto was self-disciplined rather than determined by societal expectations of them, particularly based on their gender. Anirban in London said that he could hold his girlfriend's hand on the bus without having people stare at him.

4.1.2. Life at home

In the context of their lives within the physical space of their home or the dwelling, the discussion revolved around domestic incompetency. During the interviews, the students spoke about having more domestic responsibilities as an international student. By their own admission, they were unaccustomed to certain domestic activities like cooking and buying groceries. The women were more used to household work but none of them had ever cooked their meals back home. Even Nisha, who had lived independently while working in Mumbai, had hired a maid to take care of the household chores (Interview, 6th July, 2009). Men, too, were unaccustomed to household work but unlike the women, struggled with accomplishing simple tasks like boiling rice. Uncomplicated chores like buying groceries were completely alien to men as evident in Narayanan's unabashed remark:

> Back in India, I never used to go to the shops to buy things because my mother used to do it ... – Narayanan (London, 1st July, 2009).

These patterns were common in both cities, irrespective of their age group or marital status. Almost all students lived with their parents, except for those who worked in cities away from home, like Anirban, Vivek, Soroshi, Lakshmi, and Nisha. Rohit lived with his wife, although his parents lived in the same city (See Table 4). For those who lived with their parents, generally, the mothers (with or without the help of a maid)

were responsible for the housework. Living with parents also had other disadvantages, especially for the women. Although all of them mentioned having sufficient freedom to go out at night, they had to return at a stipulated time. Arjun was exceptional in this sense because his household duties did not leave much time to socialize with friends. This was something he had cherished during his sojourn in London.

Table 4		
Living arrangements in India		
Living situation	**Name of city/country of residence**	**Name of participants**
Working in a different city other than hometown	Mumbai	Anirban, Nisha
	Bengaluru	Rishi, Narayanan, Rohan, Madan, Prasanna
	Delhi	Soroshi, Shankar
	Hyderabad	Lakshmi
	Pune	Indranil
Studying in a different city other than hometown prior to migration	Pune	Monica
	Delhi	Josh, Gitanjali, Kiran
	Columbus, USA	Gautam
Living with wife in the same city as parents	Bengaluru	Raj
Living with parents in India	London	Vidya, Pooja, Anuradha, Vivek, Anthony, Anjali, Murthi, Teresa, Eeshwar, Tanvi, Richa
	Toronto	Khushi, Saurav, Nayantara, Tarun, Shruti, Praveen, Amitav, Sahil

4.1.3. Earning a living

Eleven students in London (six men and five women) and ten students in Toronto (two women and eight men) were in full-time jobs prior to their migration (Table 5). But the difference between the two groups of students in London and Toronto was

that the students in Toronto had been working for an average of three years compared to students in London, whose average working time was 1.6 years. This was because there were more MBA students in Toronto (in my study), which required a minimum of two years of work experience for an application to be accepted. This is an important variable because it determined the lifestyle of the students in India prior to migration. Students who had been working were used to more economic independence which changed drastically after migration, and which added to the problems in adjusting to a 'new' environment.

Table 5	
Employment situation in India	
Employment situation	**Name of participant**
Students who were employed in India	London: Indranil, Lakshmi, Pooja, Anuradha, Vivek, Shankar, Narayanan, Teresa, Rishi, Nisha, Soroshi, Anirban
	Toronto: Rohan, Amitav, Tarun, Praveen, Prasanna, Madan, Shruti, Raj

4.1.4. Family background

Although the research did not focus on the economic class of the students explicitly, it is intrinsically embedded within the identities of the students migrating abroad for higher education. In contrast with Baas' (2010) study of Indian students in Australia who mainly came from a middle-class or lower-middle-class background, students of the current study appeared to have strong economic and academic backgrounds. Only eight out of 36 students held part-time jobs to supplement their tuition fees, 19 students depended on a parent or personal savings as the main source of finance while 13 students had scholarships from the university (See Table 6). This is in contrast with the 'student-workers' of Nyland *et al*'s (2009) study in Australia whose employment in part-time jobs was an important part of their international student experience. The fact

that more than half the students of my research were funded by a parent is also indicative of the family's financial status. One or both parents were highly qualified and were in prestigious professions such as Legal (advocate, judge), Medical (doctor), Education/creative (professor, researcher, writer), and government jobs (defence, Foreign Service).

Table 6	
Funding sources	
Source of funding	**Participants**
University funding in the form of Scholarship/Teaching assistantship/bursary/studentship	London: Gautam, Teresa, Vivek, Nisha
	Toronto: Gitanjali, Khushi, Kiran, Nayantara, Amitav, Rohan, Josh, Shruti, Sahil
Family (partial or full)	London: Indranil, Eeshwar, Anthony, Anuradha, Vidya, Lakshmi, Anjali, Murthi, Pooja, Tanvi, Richa, Rishi, Shankar, Soroshi, Narayanan
	Toronto: Madan, Monica
Savings from job in India	London: Indranil, Anirban, Soroshi, Shankar, Narayanan, Rishi
	Toronto: Praveen, Prasanna, Tarun, Raj, Amitav
Student loan	Toronto: Raj
Part-time job	London: Rishi, Narayanan, Eeshwar, Teresa, Soroshi, Pooja
	Toronto: Prasanna, Saurav

4.1.5. Migration, education, and gender

The relationship between education and migration as a gendered one was revealed while tracing the different routes of migration within the country (and abroad, in some cases). Although it is not claimed that the number of participants is a statistical representation (as discussed in Chapter Three), a recognisable pattern does seem to emerge which indicates a trend among young people in India pertaining to education and migration (See Table 7).

Table 7		
Migration to other cities in India		
City in India	**Purpose of migration**	**Name of participants**
Pune	Studies	Anjali, Monica, Richa, Nisha, Saurav, Vivek
	Employment	Indranil
Delhi	Studies	Gitanjali, Kiran, Josh
	Employment	Shankar, Vivek
Bengaluru	Employment	Madan, Narayanan, Rishi, Rohan
Mumbai	Studies	Rohan
	Employment	Anirban, Nisha
	Father's job	Gautam
Hyderabad	Employment	Lakshmi
Sikkim	Studies	Indranil
Ahmedabad	Studies	Anirban
Chennai	Father's job	Teresa

Within India, two women (both in London) had migrated for work and eight men (four in London and four in Toronto) had done the same. At the same time, ten women (five in London and five in Toronto) had migrated to a city other than their hometown in India for the purpose of education, while eight men (six in London and two in Toronto) had done so. Pune was the most popular destination for Law students followed by Delhi for Social Sciences, and Bengaluru was the most sought after as a work destination. This indicates the simultaneous changing and unchanging nature of Indian society's attitude towards women. While clearly, most students belonged to a higher middle-class (taking the number of fee-paying students as an indicator), the women's absorption into the labour market is still quite limited in scope. Considering that the men and women belonged to a similar age group, the men seemed to be more mobile for the purposes of education or employment. For women, however, education

seemed to be a more prevalent cause for migration. This also pertained to international migration (Table 8).

Table 8			
Prior international education			
Name	**Current city of residence**	**Education/degree**	**Last 'host' country**
Lakshmi	London	BA	Australia
Rishi	London	MS	Australia
Shruti	Toronto	Diploma	France
Sahil	Toronto	School	Guyana
Murthi	London	Failed to complete degree	UK
Gautam	London	BA	USA
Teresa	London	MS	USA
Nayantara	Toronto	MSc	USA

Out of the eight students who had prior international education experience, four were women (two each in London and Toronto) and four were men (three in London and one in Toronto). Of the eight, one student had completed his undergraduate degree from USA and two their postgraduate degrees, making it the most popular destination choice for international higher education. Among the others, two students had an undergraduate degree from Australia and one from France, and another had done his schooling from different parts of the world (since his father was an Indian diplomat posted abroad). One of the students had been enrolled at the University of York but had failed to complete his degree.

4.2. International higher education and Indian students

To the question, "Why did you choose London/Toronto?" there was a wide variety of responses. Some of the responses were derived from the interview as the participants discussed it in other (related) contexts instead of directly answering the question. The motivations for migration were analysed thematically and according to the number of times a particular theme recurred in the discussions, they were given a ranking (see

Table 9 and Table 10). The common factors for choosing either London or Toronto (as identified by the participants of the study) are related to practical, social, and academic concerns, not to mention the social backgrounds of the students. But the factors which were different in the two cities and which consequently, shaped their international experiences will be discussed in the subsequent sections. These differences in reasons behind migration result in different kinds of socio-spatial relations and will further deepen our understanding of the 'Indian student'.

Table 9

Motivations for migration: London

Ranking	**"Why did you choose London?"**
1	Chance, escape (from work or social pressures), and selection based on a process of elimination, i.e. 'not US, hence, UK'.
2	Culture of mobility: mobility as a part of life, whether it be for education or work
3	Academic: choice of subjects, research interest, field of specialization, duration of study (often in comparison with other countries)
4	• Social embeddedness: the importance of friends, family and 'others' in the decision-making process is termed 'social embeddedness' by Carlson (2013). • Prior international experience: this includes travel (with family) and an international degree.
5	Financial: availability of scholarship, sometimes in comparison with other countries.
6	'International experience': Gaining an international experience of living abroad and socializing with people from different countries
7	Employment opportunities: The perceived employment opportunities in host country after completion of degree.

Table 10

Motivations for migration: Toronto

Ranking	**"Why did you choose Toronto?"**
1	• Chance, escape (from work or other social pressures), and selection based on a process of elimination, i.e. not US or UK, therefore, Canada. • 'Social embeddedness' (Carlson, 2013)

2	Immigration: an international HE degree is a way to ease one's way into immigration. This is neither straight-forward nor a linear decision-making process.
3	Financial: Availability of scholarships and funding, sometimes in comparison with other countries
4	Academic: choice of subjects, research interest, field of specialization, duration of study (often in comparison with other countries)
5	• 'International experience' • Employment opportunities • Prior travel experience
6	Culture of mobility
7	Personal relations: Presence of loved ones acting as an important factor in the selection of the country.

4.2.1. International higher education and social class

> ... we were always stressed the importance of, when we were growing up, studying well, and doing well in our studies ... – Lakshmi (London, 10th June, 2009)

Waters (2007) asserts that the Hong Kong middle-class seek social reproduction mainly through higher education and due to its 'democratisation', this now has taken on a specific spatiality whereby the international dimension is added. In order to do this, middle-class Chinese families in Hong Kong adopt 'complicated family strategies' to send their children abroad (to English-speaking countries but mostly to Canada) for higher education, which is then followed by the emigration of the whole family. In case of Indian students of my study, migration is mostly individualized barring a few instances where spouses have later migrated. However, the reason for emphasizing the importance of higher education resonates with Indian families as well.

Baas' (2010) study helps contextualize how Indian students spoke about their decision to get an international higher education degree. His study focuses on the idea of the Indian middle-class and how 'going abroad' is an intrinsic part of the lives of this section of Indian society. In this light, it becomes simpler to understand the students'

oft-repeated statements such as Nisha's: "[...] I *always* [stressed by participant] wanted to do my Masters, not from India, but from outside [...]" (London, 6th July, 2009). A 'western university degree' "symbolizes the possession of more than just a credential, representing a whole host of cultural, embodied traits conducive to professional success in a global economic arena" (Mitchell, 1997 as quoted in Waters, 2006b: 181). Before every other practical/emotional, career-oriented/personal, individual/familial reason was discussed by the students, this was what seemed to be the driving force behind their decision-making. This ubiquitous presence of the 'abroad' in the lives of the Indian students is something that was often difficult for them to articulate, mainly because it was not an identifiable moment when they formulated the idea of acquiring an international degree. In fact, it was 'always' there[37]. Baas (2010) rationalizes that it is in the imagination that 'going abroad' remains and this is what forms the cornerstone of their decisions in selecting the country and the university.

It was evident from the students' background information that getting an international degree was a way of accumulating social/cultural capital (Waters, 2006b). Baas' (2010) study pointed out that one of the main reasons for Indian students to select Australia as their destination country stemmed from the lack of opportunities and availability of world class institutions in India. He argued that students who were unable to acquire a seat in the reputed institutions of the country opted for an international education. The students in my research all had degrees from reputed institutes in India like Delhi University, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Symbiosis Law School (Pune), IIT (Mumbai), National Law School of India University (Bengaluru), Sikkim Manipal University,

[37] It was not within the scope of my research to delve into this matter further.

Indian Law Society's (ILS) Law College (Pune), IIT (Chennai), Presidency College[38] (Kolkata), M. S. Ramaiah Institute of Technology (Bengaluru). Others had international degrees from institutions like University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee and Ohio State University, Columbus. So, while Baas' (2010) argument about Indian students' reason to migrate being a lack of opportunities in India does not apply to my study; it indicates that the social geographies of Indian students vary across different destination countries. However, students did mention that getting an international degree would enhance their chances of getting a better paying job (in cases of students who were already working prior to migration) or more prestige than an Indian post-graduate degree (for students who were in a field which required practical (rather than academic) knowledge (such as Law and Journalism). In this respect, gaining social/cultural capital (Waters, 2006b) would be part of the decision-making process.

4.2.2. Financial concerns

Practical reasons such as available funds was a more important factor for choosing Canada (over USA or UK), and the duration of the course was the main reason for choosing UK over USA[39]. Availability of funding options was the most important factor for PhD students. All doctoral students had a scholarship, whether by means of a teaching /research assistantship (in Canada) or a fellowship/studentship (in the UK). In fact, Khushi even asserted that she would have given up her dream of getting an international degree were she unsuccessful in getting a scholarship because she did not want to get burdened by a student loan (Interview in Toronto, 20th November, 2009).

[38] Now Presidency University.

[39] This is not an attempt to generalize or suggest a pattern in the causes for migration but is a general analysis from the interviews. Also, the reason for the emergence of such data can also be attributed to the choice of subjects. Four out of six students who mentioned 'duration of the course' as the reason for migration were LLM students in London who wished to return to India after a year-long course.

Nayantara had relocated to Toronto from the US[40] because her professor's research funding had run out. Sahil had taken up odd jobs because the university refused to release his transcript and Masters degree certificate until all his dues were cleared. It had been a difficult time for him because his father had passed away at the time, and he could not return to India for fear of upsetting his mother. So, Sahil had applied to the PhD programme as a strategy to stay on in the country and pay off his debts to the university. He lamented that his life in Toronto had been centred upon debt clearance. He felt tied down to Canada because of financial constraints.

> ... now I am more or less back to normal, like I am paid up and can actually leave if I want to leave and not indentured any more ... – Sahil (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009)

For many students, it was a combination of reasons behind the selection of the university. This was more prevalent in London. In Toronto, the selection criterion was the destination first and the university later. Seven students out of sixteen reported that their first preference had been the US, but a Canadian education worked out to be cheaper. So, Canada appeared to be an alternative albeit cheaper route for gaining an international higher education degree. Surprisingly, none of the students mentioned Australia as a potential destination for higher education. This perhaps relates to the perceived value attached to education from a particular country or university, relating to 'credential evaluation' (Waters, 2009).

> ... I had applied to Columbia and [...] Yale. U of T gave me the biggest funding ... – Saurav (Toronto, 3rd December, 2009)

When asked about other universities that they had considered while applying for admission, students often mentioned Ivy League colleges like Yale and Harvard in the US and Oxford and Cambridge in UK. Students at LSE, UCL, U of T, and Schulich

[40] She had got admission in a PhD programme in Rutgers University in New Jersey and moved to Toronto after completing her Masters from there.

School of Business mentioned the importance of the prestige attached to these names. Williams and Filipakkou (2010) discuss the importance attached to elite institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge and how that has an impact on the perception of acquiring different forms of capital. This relates to the 'geographies of academic distinction' wherein some places are considered to be "more valuable (and desirable) than do others" (Waters, 2009: 115). It was evident that for fee-paying students (more specifically), the international reputation of the college was a significant factor (Brooks and Waters, 2009). However, it was certainly not the most important factor as was evidenced from Saurav's comment about selecting U of T over Columbia and Yale because the former was offering a better funding opportunity.

The cost of education was also an important criterion for the selection of the university. In Toronto, Madan mentioned the stress that students were under because they had to repay their student loans. The main reason why students opted to take a student loan in the first place was because they felt that they would be able to work in the country after their degree. Due to the exchange rate between the INR and the Canadian Dollar, they would be able to repay the loan in less time. Fuelled by such expectations, fee-paying students in a Masters programme seemed very keen to work simultaneously or after the completion of their degrees. Praveen and Tarun called this in the MBA jargon, the 'return on investment'. For them, a Canadian education would not only provide them with valuable cultural (and eventually economic) capital, but would also help them to 'to earn in dollars' (Raj, Interview, 22nd December, 2009). This indicates the importance of degree transferability to a more concrete monetary advantage (Waters, 2012). Although Waters (2012) discusses the conversion of cultural capital to economic capital for returning students, it can be applied to Indian students wishing to stay back in their destination countries. Whether their expectation of

employability (Waters, 2009) was met is beyond the scope of the study, and therefore cannot be commented upon. But being able to join the labour force upon completion of their degrees was a compelling factor in the selection of the destination country.

4.2.3. Academic concerns

Carlson (2013) has argued that international students' decision to migrate abroad for higher education is an individualized concern and the traditional issues of finance are not the only factors which help them decide on the destination country. My research has revealed that financial and academic issues are among the major and common determining factors for students in both London and Toronto (see Tables 14 and 15).

It can be generally taken for granted that the main purpose of student migration is education. Education is the prerequisite for migration (Raghuram, 2013) because admission in a foreign university is the first step to apply for a visa. There were several facets of an international education degree which the students focussed upon. But, as will be demonstrated in the following discussion, there is no straightforward relationship between migration and education. Multiple layers of meanings attached to identities are revealed. Students in Toronto claimed that being able to study their topic/subject of interest was the most important reason behind the selection of the university. This was aided by contacts between professors in the two countries, indicating a channel of knowledge exchange, either through professors who are alumni of the foreign universities in question; or through academic collaborative work. This was the case in JNU and Delhi University. Khushi, Josh, and Kiran, belonging to the above-mentioned universities in Delhi were helped by their professors who recommended Canadian universities because of their personal contacts. In case of

London, some students indicated that it was their subject of choice which helped them decide upon the destination country or the university. As Anuradha succinctly stated:

> ... if I would have been still interested in Film [Studies] and if I had wanted to pursue that seriously, then I wouldn't consider the UK [...] [but] History of Art? Definitely UK ... – Anuradha (London, 22nd June, 2009)

Vidya wanted to pursue a career in Performing Arts in Indian Classical Dance. But, along with the practical knowledge, she wanted to be well-versed in the theoretical understanding of the dance forms in Indian temple architecture. She found just the right instructor at SOAS. Law students in London often mentioned the similarities between English and Indian Laws which directed them towards the UK over other countries like USA. A Masters degree in the UK is a one-year long course as opposed to two years in India. While students in London compared the duration of the course with that of India, MBA students in Canada compared their 18-month course to the two-year course in the US. So, time seems to be of great essence for students pursuing a postgraduate degree in both countries.

4.2.4. Social embeddedness

> ... I am the youngest in my family and I was too pampered. I didn't like the fact that I would be away from my family. I was quite scared but my parents were like 'You have to go. It's just a matter of one year'. It's quite funny because everyone in India [...] have to convince their parents and with me, it was the opposite. My father was like 'Don't worry, I will pay half your fees, don't worry about the finances, go, experience life' ... – Richa (London, 15th July, 2009)

More students in London mentioned their parents and friends as playing an important role in their decision-making process. Carlson (2013) discusses the importance of 'social embeddedness' within close associates and family, signifying the social aspect behind the motivation for higher education. This aspect of educational mobility (Brooks and Waters, 2010) points towards the significance of family and personal ties

in contributing to 'mobility capital' (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002) and therefore, contests the notion whether the apparent individualized migration of the students is truly an individual endeavour. The influence of family in the decision-making process more directly has been studied in the context of Chinese families in Hong Kong (Waters, 2006b) but in case of Indian students, the influence of family members was in a more passive and indirect manner. Students in London more specifically spoke about strong ties with family members abroad who also contributed to the students considering an international degree (Brooks and Waters, 2010).

> ... In our family going abroad is not really a big thing. It's something [that] you do! It's your career, if you've got to build it, [if] that means you have to travel all the way to North Pole, then you travel. If that means you have to stay there for five years, you stay! You build your career ... – Indranil (London, 20th May, 2009)

The relationship between travel and migration and one's career is a normal part of Indranil's socialization. In this case, he associates his international higher education with enhancing his chances of 'employability' (Waters, 2009). While Indranil's family was instrumental in providing support in the initial phase of decision-making, Praveen, Sahil, and Saurav acknowledged that since their sisters lived in Toronto, the destination was easy to decide upon. Raj's sister-in-law lived in the city too, and it was at her house that Raj had spent the first few weeks. Presence of family members in the destination country was also an added advantage in easing the decision-making process. Such a parallel can be drawn with Chinese students migrating to Canada who continue their habitus at the family level (Waters, 2007). However, Indian students are different from their Chinese counterparts in the sense that it is only at the initial stage that they seek familial connections in order to accustom themselves to their new environment. Students mentioned not maintaining regular contact with their family relations after

settling down in the destination country. This was in most part, due to the academic pressures that they faced upon arrival.

Friendship ties (Brooks and Waters, 2010) were also important in the decision-making process. Primary (close friends) or secondary/tertiary social networks (professors and colleagues) provide information and motivation for easing the process of decision-making (Brooks and Waters, 2009). Apart from a friend, who was already in YU, Kiran's professor at JNU had helped her by establishing the initial contact with a professor in Canada.

> ... I had a professor in JNU who had studied in Canada at Queen's University. And she suggested that I should look at it [YU] also ... – Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009)

Like Kiran, Khushi also mentioned getting in touch with a professor at YU through her professor at Delhi University (DU), who guided her through the process of admission and provided valuable advice during the decision-making process. The 'circular academic mobility' (Jöns, 2011) of professors who were former international students is a dimension which has not been explored much by researchers. It is usually accepted that international students return to their home countries, and aid in the production of cosmopolitan identities (Rizvi *et al*, 2007) while contributing to the production of global knowledge networks through brain circulation (Jöns, 2009). Brooks and Waters' (2009) 'global circuits of education' can be used in the context of academic professionals in India who maintain close relations with their colleagues internationally, networks which they had established during their sojourn as international students. These networks are used by their students, as was the case with Khushi and Kiran. While these networks of socialization were directly utilized for the purpose of gathering information about foreign universities, others mentioned colleagues and even the atmosphere of a college

or office where most people were contemplating 'going abroad' as a contributing factor.

> ... Presidency [College] was a college where many of my seniors had taken the GRE and they were doing their higher studies in North America and we used to see it and were pretty much inspired by them in a way. You can say that they inspired us to [think] that can be done, like you can aim for higher studies abroad even without paying loads of money and that was a great thing ... – Nayantara (Toronto, 5th December, 2009)

Nayantara's primary socialization with her peers in college triggered a chain of decision-making processes including one in which she was inspired to consider an international higher education degree as a possibility. In her case, a higher education degree from North America became an achievable target because of the success stories being circulated within the college social spaces. This relates to Conradson and Latham's (2005) study of New Zealanders in London and how their friendship networks played a major role in their decision to migrate. Friends need not necessarily have to be located in the destination country, but even knowing someone who had already made that transition inspired confidence (Brooks and Waters, 2010).

Apart from these common factors which influenced the decision to study abroad in general, there were others which were more specific to the place of migration. London and Toronto attracted different kinds of students depending on their migration expectations and motivations. The difference in the immigration policies of UK and Canada determine the duration of the sojourn of the students. This relative termporaryness/permanence plays a significant role in determining the socio-spatial identities of the students in London and Toronto. Students in London and Toronto commented on other aspects of their migration decision which form the crux of the discussion of the following sections.

4.3. London: temporary 'youthful geographies'

> Anuradha: I am really pleased with the circle of friends I have here. I met them all at SOAS. The connections you make when you are away from home, for some reason I think are stronger because when you are at home, you have your family. [...] the connections you share are different.
>
> Subhadra: different in what way?
>
> Anuradha: I don't know. Maybe it's the time you spend with each other or maybe the fact that you are all independent, like I stayed at a friend's house in Paris and I have three of my friends staying in Stratford and they're all from different parts of the world. The core group is still Indian [...] but the rest are all international.
>
> Subhadra: so you hang out with your friends?
>
> Anuradha: Oh, yeah! We meet up in college, we go for movies, we go out at night, we meet up at each other's houses. [...] [R]andom, regular things. Things which you do at home also, but I don't have to tell my mom what time I'm coming home. That kind of thing.
>
> (London, 22nd June, 2009)

Friendship networks, travel stories, and entertainment activities in the city were the crux of most interviews with students in London. The excerpt from the interview with Anuradha reveals a number of facets of the lives of Indian students in London. The students in London seemed to be preoccupied with enjoying their time in the city by making friends, 'hanging out' (Hopkins, 2011) with them, and travelling outside London. Like Anuradha, most students mentioned that their closest circle of friends was Indians but they also regularly interacted with a number of international students. All these indicate a particular lived experience of London which relates to Evans' (2008) call to researchers to explore the 'youthful' experiences of young people. As discussed earlier, students in London were of a younger age cohort as compared with their Toronto counterparts. Apart from age, the two other factors which decidedly had an effect on the experiences of the students in London were their prior international

travel experiences and a desire to gain a more well-rounded international experience during their stay. These aspects will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.3.1. Culture of mobility including prior international travel

> ... I think there are people who travel and miss wherever it is that they have left behind, people who travel and grow roots very easily and people who travel and realize that they will be a foreigner wherever they are. Maybe I belong to the third, or maybe all three put together ... – Gautam (London, 1st September, 2009)

Gautam's idea of roots/routes is linked to his personal biography of moving across different cities in India. He considered himself an Indian first and a Bengali later (Interview, London, 1st September, 2009). His identity was shaped by his numerous travels within the country. He had moved to USA for his undergraduate education because he wanted to follow his father's advice and 'broaden his horizons' (Interview, London, 1st September, 2009). Gautam connected his motivation to migrate to his life experiences of travelling within India and abroad. This was echoed by other students who had prior experience of travelling with their parents within and outside India. Anuradha had lived with her parents in Switzerland when she was a child (Interview, London, 22nd June, 2009). As a result, she had travelled extensively across Europe. In fact, it was while visiting London with her parents that she had decided to study there. Singh *et al* (2007) have explored the relationship between travel and the production of cosmopolitan identities through Clifford's (1997) idea of 'dwelling in travel'. Singh *et al* (2007) point to the significance of transnational mobility in creating a better cultural understanding among Chinese international students. However, their study is based on returning Chinese students. Indian students of my research attribute their cosmopolitan way of thinking to their experiences of travel prior to their educational migration. Brooks and Waters (2009, 2010) explore the relationship between travelling with family internationally and students' choice of an international higher education degree.

Travelling was an important part of the lives of the students in London (for a detailed discussion see Chapter Five). Not only had they travelled with their parents within India, but they also had travelled outside India.

Students who related their motivation to migrate to 'existential migration' (Madison, 2006) were those who had prior experience of an international degree. Rishi spoke about how it was difficult for him to settle back in India after living most of his childhood in the US with his uncle and acquiring an undergraduate degree from Australia later (Interview, London, 2nd July, 2009). So, he took the first opportunity to migrate to the UK. Teresa too, had returned to India after completing her Masters degree from the University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Right after her return to India, she decided to pursue a doctoral degree preferably from a university outside India (Interview, London, 2nd July, 2009). Findlay *et al*'s (2006) study of European students theorized that the students who were motivated to migrate for education mostly possessed 'mobility capital' (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002).

> [...] time runs very fast. It has been very busy and there are so many places to visit and it has been like an international paid vacation for me. – Vivek (London, 24th June, 2009)

The 'paid vacation' that Vivek refers to is the fact that he had spent a considerable time of his international sojourn travelling in England and Scotland with his friends. He viewed his experience in London as a vacation because he was away from the worries of being in a work environment, he was in a 'foreign' country and his scholarship paid for his education. This left him with a lot of time to pursue his studies and travel during his spare time. Travelling can be directly linked to availability of funds as a total of 14 students in London mentioned travelling to different places in the UK and Europe, out of which four had a scholarship and ten were being funded by a parent (See Table 6). Perhaps, another additional factor for the propensity for students in London to travel

can be attributed to their living situations. Since most students lived in student shared residences of the university, they had more friends with whom to travel. Additionally, travelling by bus and train in the UK is relatively cheaper than in Canada. All these factors added together made students in London more orientated to travel to different parts of UK and even to countries in Europe. Evans (2008) had called for a deeper understanding of 'youthful geography', which centres on issues of fun and excitement among the youth. Waters *et al* (2011) responded to this by drawing our attention to the international experiences of British students and the strategies they employ to prolong their transition from being students to joining the labour market, among other things. Such 'escapes' (Waters *et al*, 2011) also resonate among the students in London who regard their international sojourn as an exciting break from their routine lives in India. They view it as a valuable international experience enriched with travel and meeting people from different cultures.

4.3.2. International experience

> ... Frankly, I wanted that exposure. To study with a bunch of people with whom we share nothing. After coming here I have come to know a lot about a lot of countries, about what kind of practices that they have, how they do things, how they think. [...] It definitely helps me grow as a person, number one. The second thing is it will always benefit me if my career takes a global platform. So, I wanted to have a global playing field for myself and not just in India ... – Indranil (London, 20th May, 2009)

Waters and Brooks' (2011) study of UK students' concept of an international education being an intrinsic part of gaining an 'international experience' is relevant for Indian students as well. In London, most students mentioned that one of the main reasons for deciding on an international degree was related to being exposed to a different culture and interacting with people from different parts of the world. Indranil, in this case, also views this 'overseas experience' (Conradson and Latham, 2007) as 'mobility capital' (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002) which he can later convert into an advantage for gaining

leverage in the labour market. Seeking out cultural diversity not only in the classroom but also in the residences was more prevalent among and unique to students in London. This was mainly because most students in London lived in university residences where they interacted with different cultures every day. The university has a major role to play in inter-cultural interaction as was evidenced from Nisha, Anjali, and Vivek's (all students at LSE) accounts of their experiences of travelling to Scotland with other students of the same class. Vivek also expressed excitement about meeting domestic and other international students at the weekly student night arranged by the students' association of the department of Law. Students in London seemed more at ease about interacting with different cultures than their Toronto counterparts.

> ... for the first time I was leaving India or going away from my family alone. So it was a big step for me but I am really glad I did it and I have enjoyed myself here [...] a chance of experiencing life abroad, studying in a foreign university. So more than helping me academically, for me it was more for the experience of studying in a foreign country ... – Anthony (London, 27th July, 2009)

Anthony articulated the main reason for his sojourn as not the acquisition of an international degree but about experiencing life abroad as a student. Being a student entails less responsibility as opposed to working in a company. The temporary-ness of his stay in London was enhanced by the fact that he would return to India after a year and join his father's Law firm. However, not all students who viewed their sojourn in London as a temporary escape from life in India came from affluent families. Nisha had left her job to escape the stressful work environment, as did Anirban. Vivek, Soroshi, and Rishi had wanted to take some time off to decide on their plan of action regarding their careers, and life in general. They all had full-time jobs in India which they had given up before leaving for London. So, 'escape' seemed to feature quite prominently among the motivations for choosing London. Since all their courses were

of a shorter duration, students in London viewed this temporary-ness as an advantage and almost like the European year abroad programme. Waters *et al*'s (2011) 'youthful escapes' brings to the fore the relationship between youth identities and mobilities. They argue that spending time alone and away from family was a useful means through which students were able to explore different academic and social avenues. Like the British students of Waters and Brooks' (2011) study who found the American system of education more flexible, Indian students viewed the British education system as more flexible than the Indian system. This meant that students had adequate time to engage in (typical) youth activities (Skelton and Valentine, 1998) such as travelling, exploring urban spaces, and indulging in alcohol-related entertainment such as going to pubs and bars.

4.4. Toronto: relatively permanent 'geographies of opportunity'

> ... I have an offer with Reliance [Industries Limited]. It's still open. And then I don't want to move to places like the Middle East where I do have opportunities but I don't want to go there because [...] [t]here are so many constraints and restrictions that you don't enjoy. [...] So, Middle East is not an option for me. [...] Maybe Singapore, too. I have some connections there, so that's a third destination I can think of. Otherwise, at this point of time, I am thinking of Canada, India or Singapore ... – Tarun (Toronto, 20th December, 2009)

Students in Toronto, like Tarun, spoke about issues such as residency, citizenship, scholarships, jobs, and future plans. They seemed more interested in discussing how they envisioned their stay in Toronto as a semi-permanent situation and how they were thinking of translating their educational and lived experience into something which would benefit their career plans. These aspects of an educational migration will be explored through the lived experiences of students in Toronto.

4.4.1. Immigration

> ... I am here for my MBA and I wanted to specialize in Finance and I should take up a career in something related to Finance over here and then probably get a Permanent Residency over here and then settle ... – Prasanna (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

Most students in Toronto were aware of the immigration policies prior to their migration there. Like Prasanna, who had introduced himself during the first interview with these opening lines, many students appeared to be considering applying for a PR so that they could extend their stay in the country and gain some work experience. Out of 16 students interviewed in Toronto, three were permanent residents (with Indian passports), four were contemplating applying for a permanent residency status (PR), three 'might apply' and two had already applied for a PR (See Table 11).

Table 11

Immigration details

Immigration status	**Names of participants**
Permanent resident with Indian passport	Saurav, Kiran, Rohan
Have applied for PR	Khushi, Gitanjali
Will apply for PR	Amitav, Prasanna, Praveen, Raj
Might apply for PR	Nayantara, Sahil, Tarun

Baas (2006) groups Indian students in Australia into three categories, depending on their aspirations for a PR. The first group comprises of students who did not initially plan for a PR but gradually contemplated applying for one because it would make life in Australia easier. In my study, the students in Toronto who already had a PR, had applied for one, or were thinking about applying can be part of this group. These students appeared to be financially more secure but considered having a PR as an advantage for availing other conveniences that Canada offered.

> ... I couldn't apply for any scholarships over here because as an international student, it's very difficult to get any funding. [...] You obviously need other scholarships and funding, otherwise how will you do your fieldwork? [...] another thing is with an Indian passport, it's difficult to travel to other countries because every time I want to go to another country, I have to get a visa and I have to pay a huge visa fee. But with a PR, I can go to other European countries [...] and live there for three months without the visa consideration. So life becomes easier when you are travelling with a Canadian ID in that sense ... – Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009)

The second group of students of Baas' (2006) study were those who always wanted a PR in some form, i.e. a work permit for a few years. Students in (my research in) Toronto who were still unsure about applying for a PR belong to this group. Students who were most likely to apply at a later stage were those who already had a job offer, or who had been living in Toronto for more than five years. Although Canada allows international students to work part-time during the course of their studies, these students wanted a more permanent employment situation so that they could, in most cases, earn in dollars. This and other immigration rules pertaining to spouse visas allow families to reunite and ease the process of migration where separation from family members can be a challenging experience.

> ... it's very easy for me to move my family to Canada because the Canadian study permit allow[s] [...] your spouse to get an open work permit, so your spouse can work for the duration of the time you are here, and you can bring your kids and parents, which is much harder to do in the US ... – Raj (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

Baas' (2006) study also had a third group of students who had migrated to Australia for the sole purpose of acquiring a PR. There were no students in my research who belonged to this group. Robertson (2011b) points towards the transnational literature and indicates that international students generally fall between the two extreme categories of elite professionals and migrant-workers. Therefore, they are simultaneously empowered and marginalized. Situating oneself within such contradictory discourse about self-representation, international students' security in

terms of their rights, is questioned (Robertson, 2011a). In this sense, a PR can offer some sense of belonging to the nation.

> ... there's a part of me that feels, like, you know, it's been ten years and getting [permanent residency] status would be a way to secure something, like a right to return, like, lay some claim to this place but I am not attached to it. It's not home. No, no … -- Sahil (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009)

No matter what the reason for changing one's status to that of a permanent resident, it is evident from the above discussion that ideas about ownership, rights, and future opportunities played heavily on the minds of the students in Toronto. However, it is not suggested, like Baas' (2010) study that students were migrants. At best, the study revealed that the process was multi-layered and complex and dearth of research about international students in Canada (Hari *et al*, 2013) has limited the scope for analysis.

4.4.2. Employment opportunities

> ... every student comes here for a job in the end. They want to make it big. – Praveen (Toronto, 23rd January, 2010)

Linked to immigration aspirations is the criterion of getting a job in Canada after graduation. There has been much academic discussion regarding the 'employability' (Waters, 2009a) of students after graduating abroad. It has been debated that students acquire valuable human and cultural capital (through an international degree) which would be later converted to economic capital after their return to their home countries (Waters, 2009b). However, Brooks *et al* (2012) also identify that there are fundamental differences between the way that 'employability' is experienced by students from western countries and students from eastern countries. This is also supported by Wiers-Jenssen's (2008, 2012) study about students in Norway. According to her study, students faced difficulties in gaining employment upon their return but the economic

rewards for 'mobile students' after a few years was higher than for 'immobile students'. In light of this discussion about employment and international education, Baas' (2006) study about Indian students in Australia is more pertinent to the current discussion because his study focussed on students' future aspirations of gaining a job in Australia as linked to their immigration status.

> ... The idea is that you invest so much money in the MBA, so then you work for a year and recover the money and then you can go back and work wherever you want to work. So the return on investment will be faster in that case, if you work here ... – Tarun (Toronto, 20th December, 2009)

Here, students view themselves as consumers who have invested a considerable sum of money on their education. In order to recover that amount faster, they look towards getting a job in Canada. This is similar to experiences of Indian students in Australia (Baas, 2006). Robertson (2011) also focuses on international students in Australia and comments on the contested nature of their identities as migrants, workers, students, and residents. As a result of changes in immigration laws, international students in the United States could apply for jobs after their graduation. They could then convert their student visas to HIB visas. This has been referred to two-step migration (Hawthorne, 2010). Migration therefore took place in two steps. First, they could migrate to the United States as an international student and later change their immigration status after graduation by securing a job. Other countries like Australia and Canada adopted this immigration policy in the form of point-based immigration system. Points are given to students belonging to a certain age group (18-29), for getting a degree from the country of migration, for English language proficiency, if the duration of the course is 12 months or more, if they have an additional job offer and others (Hawthorne, 2010). Baas' (2010) study of Indian students in Australia focussed on this aspect of students' lives as the key determinant for migration. Indian students in Baas' (2010) study applied

to vocational courses such as cooking and hairdressing which would eventually aid in their application for permanent residency status. International students are then cogs in the 'education-migration nexus' (Robertson, 2011a) machinery. The sole purpose of this machinery is to producing permanent residents or as Baas (2010) terms it, the "PR factory" (Baas, 2010: 134). In Canada, international students are allowed to work off campus. This was considered an opportunity that most students in the current research mentioned as working in their favour.

> ... I wouldn't go back to work in Delhi. Not after all this. I would love to go back for a short period of time but not go back and build a career in the Indian academy just because it's tough. It's a different scene, it's not as recognized, there's a lot bigger of a teaching burden and a lot less cash. My priority is to go somewhere where I hang on to a degree of mobility... – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

Although Sahil stated that he had not thought about a PR and would probably consider it at a later stage, he was almost sure that he would not want to return to India to work. This possibly relates to Murphy-Lejeune's (2002) 'mobility capital' which is a phenomenon where people who have resided abroad for a period of time tend to stay abroad. This is especially true for people who come from countries which have less to offer in terms of job opportunities upon the students' return (Brooks *et al*, 2012). Countries like India and China are at a larger risk of such typical 'brain drain' than more affluent countries like Norway (Wiers-Jenssen, 2012) where a larger percentage of students returned to their home countries owing to the facilities available.

Conclusions

Migration stories of Indian students going to London and Toronto differed considerably and yet were also similar in many respects. This indicated the diversity within the category of 'Indian student' not only in terms of their gender, language,

religion, and cultural dimensions, but also in terms of their motivations for migration, which in turn informed their choice of destinations. While students in London appeared to be more interested in gaining an 'international experience' and focused on 'fun and excitement' of intercultural interactions, students in Toronto seemed more inclined towards utilizing the opportunities available. 'Social embeddedness' remained a significant factor for students in both cities. The migration pathways to Toronto specifically, also revealed that Indian students are looking beyond postcolonial links and making more practical decisions. The chapter has explored the spatialities of Indian students depending on their migration decisions. By focusing on the 'why' of migration (Raghuram, 2013), the discussion contextualizes the everyday lives of Indian students prior to departure and sets the stage for a more detailed exploration of the differences and similarities between and within different spaces in London and Toronto.

CHAPTER FIVE

Home and belonging in the city: student micro-geographies in everyday urban spaces

Introduction

> ... I was on the bus and I was telling her [friend] that I am so surprised that I don't find the landscape strange anymore. It's so familiar. [...] The landscape has so seeped into you now, it doesn't surprise you anymore. Whereas when you had come here you felt like a tourist because you had all these buildings and London is a pretty strange city because you have all these high-rise buildings, old buildings, everything cluttered together. After a while, I think [it] just grows into you [...] Even now when I walk down a road or something, I remember the first time I had walked down that road and I would think that it is different now because as if I have some kind of an ownership of that place now. I remember [when] I came back from India [after a visit], I was like, 'Ok, I am home'. It just felt so familiar ... – Lakshmi (London, 10th June and 24th June, 2009)

Lakshmi describes the multi-layered and complex nature of home and belonging in the city pertaining to the spatial, temporal, social, sensorial and everyday nature of lived experience. She also connects her experiences with the feeling of home in the city. Feeling at home/not at home in the city depends upon several factors such as aspects of urban form (i.e. location, access to public transport, and urban walkability); social/friendship networks; aspects of identity (such as differences in culture, age, gender); time spent in the city; climate; and experiences of their respective hometowns in India. There are several overlaps and interdependencies within these factors. The spatial practices of the students revealed that a sense of security and safety, and familiarity are the two most important aspects in creating a sense of home in the city for Indian students. So, for the purpose of this chapter, I focus on familiarity and safety as the two inductive themes of urban belonging as affecting the everyday mobilities/immobilities of the students in both the cities. The differences and

similarities in the ways in which London and Toronto are experienced by Indian students is the main theme of this chapter.

The main argument of this chapter is that feeling at home/not home in the city is dependent upon the degree of urban im/mobilities (Skelton, 2013) which are determined not only by locational, social, and institutional (Fincher and Shaw, 2011) factors, but also by two main aspects of urban belonging (Antonsich, 2010): namely familiarity, (Reay *et al*, 2009; Collins, 2010b) and a sense of security (Anderson, 2012). Such dis/connections are forged through urban memory (Lahiri, 2011), friendship/social networks (Bunnell *et al*, 2012, Hendrickson *et al*, 2011) and solitary engagements as experienced through urban walking (Wunderlich, 2008; Middleton, 2010; Cresswell, 2010; Bairner, 2011). Crouch (2006) states that "leisure activities also involve mobility" (2006: 125) and that these 'lay geographies of leisure' (Crouch, 2000) are ways of knowing the world. 'Feeling at home' and 'finding one's way' involves "a continuous negotiation between what is familiar and unfamiliar (Simonsen, 2007: 173). Therefore, leisure spaces are not only spatial (Johnson and Glover, 2013) but are also related to 'mobile forms of belonging' (Fallov *et al*, 2013). Fallov *et al* (2013) argue that mobility and stasis are not in an antithetical relation with each other but that mobility influences levels of attachment to the local community. For a mobile group like international students who (usually) live in their host cities temporarily, local attachment is affected by their access to mobility and their actual mobility within and outside the city. Access to mobility is determined by the location of their residence and actual mobility is related to friendship networks. Additionally, "practices of mobility is weaved [sic] together with the meaning of 'feeling at home' in the spatio-temporal routines of everyday life" (Fallov *et al*, 2013: 477). In case of students in London and

Toronto, the ability and actual engagement with urban spaces affect their sense of attachment to the city.

The three main sections of the chapter explore the inter-relationships between everyday im/mobilities and urban belonging through multiple urban spatialities of Indian students. The first section contextualizes the students' dwellings within the city. This is followed by a discussion of the students' first experiences of the city and their everyday im/mobilities (5.2.), followed by 5.3., which focuses on the spatialities of friendship networks. The final section (5.4.) is about the students' solitary engagements with city spaces.

5.1. Contextualizing Indian students in cities

Since the different colleges of the University of London did not have a well-demarcated campus space, the academic buildings including the student residences were located amidst other buildings of the city. Although U of T has a cluster of buildings in an area of downtown Toronto which is recognised as the university space, they remain strongly embedded within the urban fabric. A direct connection could be deciphered between engagement with urban spaces and the location of the residences. Five students from U of T (Monica, Saurav, Josh, Nayantara, Raj) and two students from YU (Khushi and Sahil) lived in downtown Toronto. Among them all, Monica was the only one who spoke enthusiastically about venturing out into the city on her own, while Sahil was neutral about it, owing to his personal experiences. Josh and Raj felt that they did not have enough time to explore different city spaces, while Khushi seemed more comfortable doing so with her husband than on her own. Unlike Monica, Nayantara did not mention any special moments in the city spent on her own but she seemed to have a wider knowledge of certain spaces of interest to her such as museums,

restaurants of different cuisines, and movie theatres showing independent cinema. Saurav seemed to have made a few social connections in the local businesses in his neighbourhood and had established a personal relationship with the owner.

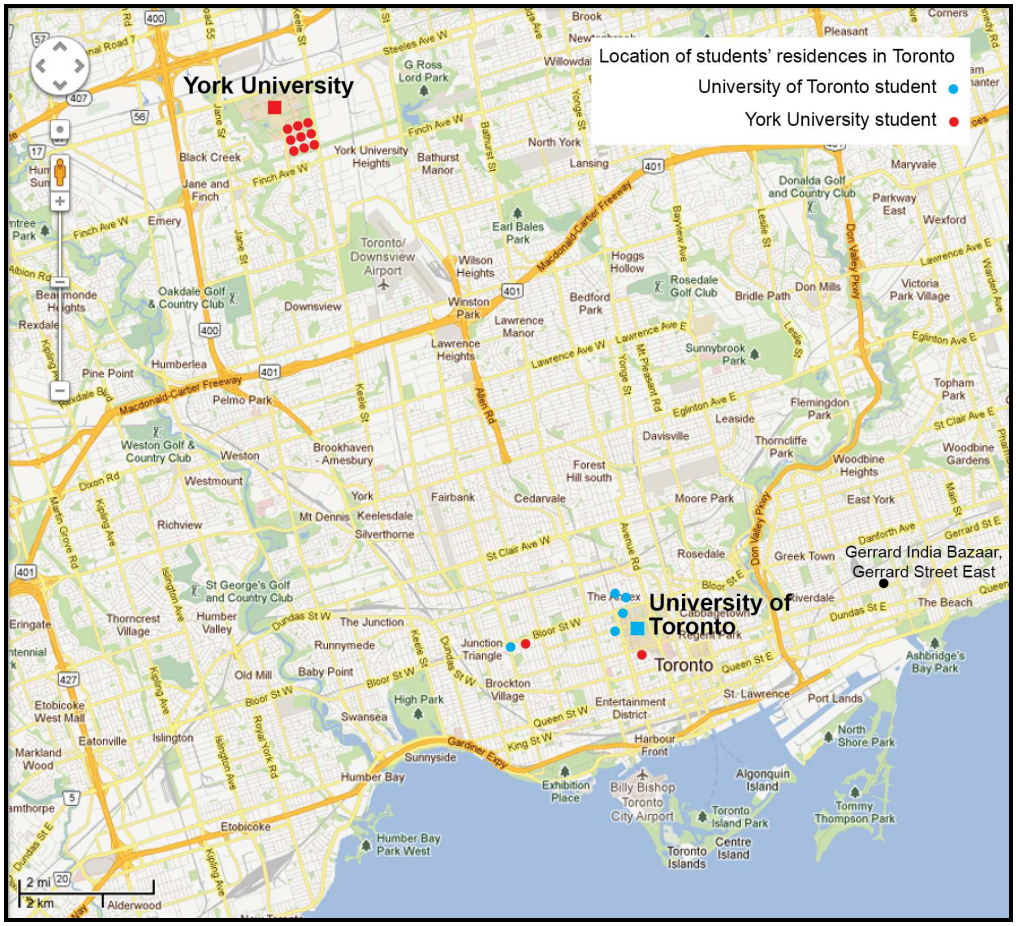

Figure 2: Map of Toronto showing the location of student dwellings and Gerrard India Bazaar

In the map of Toronto in Fig. 2, the blue dots represent the residential locations of students studying in U of T and the red dots represent the location of the students studying in YU. The blue square and the red square represent the location of U of T and YU respectively. The black square in the eastern part of the map is the location of the Gerrard Street Bazaar on Gerrard Street East. The students mentioned this as the most frequented place for buying Indian groceries and consuming Indian food. The purpose of the map is to provide a visual representation of the distance of the residences from their academic institutions. Also, by situating the Gerrard Street Bazaar

on the map, the map is a visual narrative of the distance the students usually travel to buy groceries. The distance the students have to commute every day is an important factor which determines the type and level of engagement with urban public spaces.

Out of twenty students in London, eleven of them lived away from campus/university[41]. This meant that they regularly commuted to their college/university, allowing them ample opportunity to engage with urban public spaces on their own. Among those who lived near the campus/university, only two students (Rishi and Teresa) seemed to have a similar lifestyle to those who lived away from the campus. However, it was noted that students living away from campus in Toronto did not mention as many variety of spaces as did students in London, which indicated the importance of urban form in shaping one's everyday spatial practices. Similarities and differences in ways in which urban spaces are experienced depend upon the form of engagement with these public spaces. The ways in which students engage with urban public spaces contribute to their sense of home/not home in the city.

[41] Vidya, Lakshmi, Anuradha from SOAS, Vivek, Richa, Anjali, Nisha from LSE, Anthony from UCL, Gautam from QMUL; Anirban and Indranil from Imperial College.

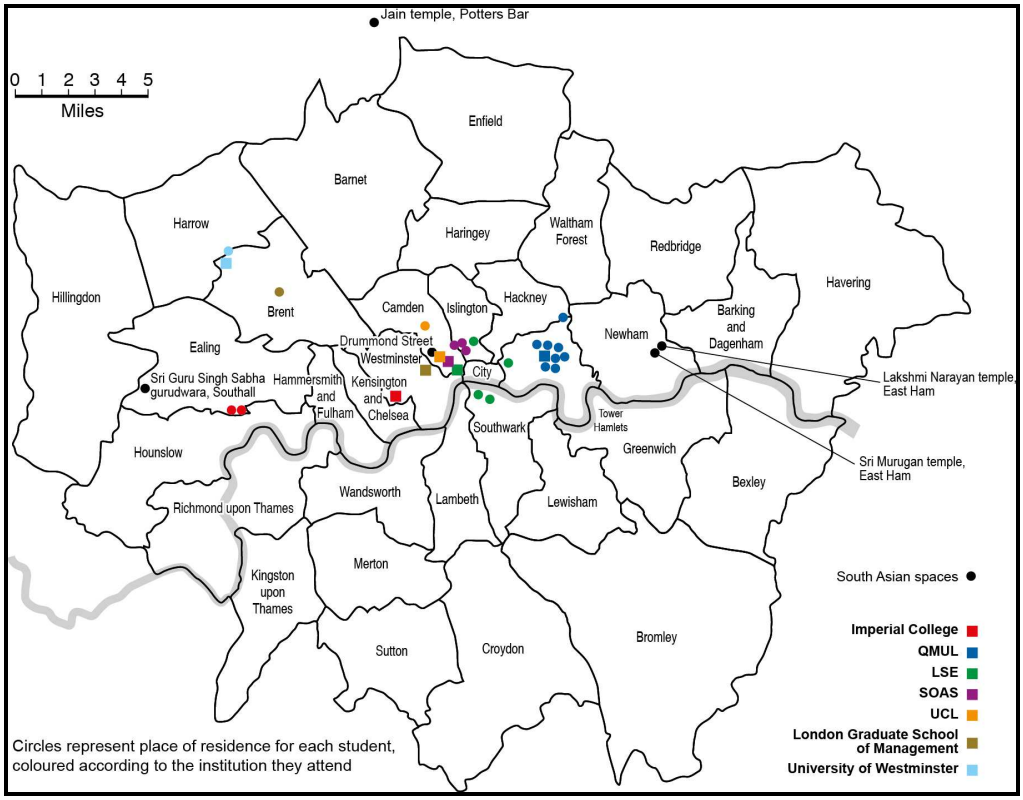

Figure 3: Map of London showing the location of student dwellings and South Asian spaces

The map above (Fig. 3) represents the residential location of the students in London. The coloured squares symbolize the location of the colleges and their corresponding circles, their residences. The map also represents the distance of the residences from their academic institutions. The black dots are the locations of South Asian spaces frequented by the students. The Lakshmi Narayan temple and Sri Murugan temple in East Ham; the Guru Singh Sabha gurudwara in Southall in west London; and the Jain temple in Potters Bar in the north are the sacred spaces most mentioned by the students. Students living in central London also mentioned going to Drummond Street to buy groceries for cooking Indian food and also for eating Indian food. Comparing this with the map of Toronto (in Fig. 2), the everyday geographies of the students in the two cities becomes apparent.

5.2. City through imagination, corporeality, and embodiment

> ... First impression: It was different in the sense that maybe it's not as chaotic as Delhi [and] not much people. That was my initial observation. You have these good roads and buildings but not as many people as Delhi. [...] And it looked different, in terms of colours. Even the night looked different. It's not the same as Delhi. Maybe it's because of the city lights or the clean air, but Delhi nights are not the same as Toronto nights. I can't explain it to you, you have to feel it. [...] But Delhi is absolutely different. I mean, here there is a lot of greenery. Of course, if you go from the airport to the DU you will see a lot of greenery, but the colour is different. It's not the same green. There it's dry ... – Josh (Toronto, 7th October, 2009)

Josh emphasized the differences in the ways in which he felt about the cities (affectual); how he sensed them through visual stimuli like lights and colours (sensory); roads and buildings (urban built form); as well as in the number of people (urban sociality). All these aspects are linked to ideas of un/familiarity as being an important aspect of urban belonging or feeling at home/not at home in the city. While Blunt and Bonnerjee (2013), Ashutosh (2012) and Lahiri (2011) foreground the city as home for diasporic people from South Asia, Conradson and Latham's (2007) study is concerned with the transnational connections that New Zealanders forge in London; which is experienced as a 'global city'. Datta (2011) on the other hand, views London as an ordinary city (Robinson, 2006). In the context of higher education and working-class students, Reay *et al* (2009) discuss how a familiar university setting is important in shaping students' experiences of higher education. Although Reay *et al*'s (2009) study is not about international students, it is nevertheless useful in understanding how students who make a significant (social, cultural, and financial) transition use familiarity to make themselves at home in an unfamiliar territory. Collins (2010b) also discusses how South Korean international students negotiate the unfamiliar spaces of Auckland through familiar social networks both in the city and in their hometowns through the internet.

Familiarity is an important central theme which connects ideas of home and belonging in the city.

5.2.1. Imaginative, affectual, and sensorial un/familiarity

> ... You walk through London and you see Victorian and Gothic architecture everywhere. I mean just about every nook and cranny. You walk through central London and you get the same feel and you go to Calcutta and you walk through central part of Calcutta, you will get the same feeling. It's the similar buildings. [...] I mean every other street is named after some lord [...] and the major landmark of Calcutta is the Victoria Memorial Hall. So, you can probably guess from that very simple fact how much the colonial hangover is still there in Calcutta ... – Indranil (London, 25th May, 2009)

Imaginative geographies (Gregory, 1995) form an important part of the motivation for international student mobility (Beech, 2014). In the case of students in London (especially), the postcolonial understandings of the city shaped their perceptions prior to their arrival. The visual has dominated the world of sensuous geographies (Rodaway, 1994) and Indranil's quotation is testimony to this fact. Upon his arrival in London, what struck him first was the visual similarity with his hometown, Kolkata. Shompa Lahiri has discussed the importance of "sensory modalities" (2011: 861) being a significant aspect of understanding connections between translocality, memory, and the city. Like Lahiri's (2011) Brahmo participants, Indranil compares the architecture of Kolkata with that of London. This is not surprising owing to Kolkata's colonial legacy. London's status as a 'world city' also makes its images and representations widely available through the global media. In fact, it is as a result of such media transmissions that Saurav comments on in the context of the un/familiarity of Toronto:

> ... I wasn't expecting anything different. It may be because of my super interest in popular culture arising and coming out of the West as a teenager. So I was already kind of orientated through a beaming television as to what to expect when I came here. So it wasn't startling but it was different. I wasn't gawking at cars or I wasn't

> gawking at a highway or a freeway, if you will, because it was just something I was expecting ... – Saurav (Toronto, 3rd December, 2009)

Conradson and Latham in the context of young New Zealanders' experience of London mention "this intertwining of novelty and familiarity" (2007: 243) as having a positive effect. Saurav explained the simultaneity of feeling at home and not at home in Toronto by situating himself as the outsider who had arrived at an unfamiliar city, and therefore, unfamiliar people (Interview, 3rd December, 2009). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that most students in Toronto did not find much familiarity with their hometowns. In this sense, Toronto can be viewed as placeless much like Nottingham was for participants of Beech's (2014) study. It can be argued that students' imaginative geographies of Canada or Toronto were not as rich as that compared to London.

> ... I have compared Bombay and London lots of times. They look the same, they have the same energy. I call it living on the edge, in both the cities. [...] I thought it was a better version of Bombay; the very first day. The energy, the feel of the city [are similar] ... – Nisha (London, 6th July, 2009)

Nisha found the 'energy' of London to be similar to that of Mumbai. The constant rush of people and traffic reminded her of the Indian 'mega city' (Harris, 2012). For Richa, it was London's vibrant nightlife which she compared with Mumbai. The "affective possibilities" of London (Conradson and Latham, 2007) made them feel at home in the city because it was familiar to them. London, like Mumbai, was viewed as a city which is a juxtaposition of the 'ugly and the beautiful' (Anuradha, 22nd June, 2009). So, for Anuradha, it felt like she had never left home. This is comparable to Ayona Datta's (2012) critique of the 'global city' by its Polish immigrants. Their experiences of the city were not marked by the glamour of 'extraordinary' London, but by its more ordinary and mundane socio-spatial encounters. In Toronto, on the other hand,

students did not find much affectual or sensory familiarity with their hometowns, except for Nayantara who felt at home in Toronto because she found familiarity in the size and diversity of the two cities. Gitanjali's sense of alienation upon her arrival in Toronto was expressed thus:

> ... Oh, I hated it when I first saw this dull grey kind of sky and all. I didn't see much people on the streets and I was like, 'where did I land?' – Gitanjali (Toronto, 19th January, 2010)

Like Gitanjali, some students in London also commented on the unfamiliarity with the weather of London. In fact, Tanvi complained of being constantly ill during the few first months of arriving in the city (London, 13th July, 2009). But most students found the weather to be similar to that of other cities in India such as Kohima (Anirban) and Sikkim (Indranil). Vanini *et al* (2012) analyse the sensory and affectual significance of weather in everyday life. By considering dwelling as dynamic and processual, they de-construct the static (and perhaps even permanent) connections between the weather and dwelling. Simultaneously, weather is also conceived as "subject to haunting attachments, identification, familiarity, and the building powers of imagination, idealisation and narration" (Vanini *et al*, 2012: 364). The affectual, emotional, embodied, and sensorial qualities of the weather are therefore intrinsically related to the feeling of home/not home as it is impossible to escape it (Ingold, 2007) and also because it has an impact on social processes (Vanini *et al*, 2012) including migration. This is especially true for people (i.e. students in this case) arriving in an unfamiliar city (Collins, 2010).

> ... I love the weather [...] [if] it's sunny, you wear your glares and [if] it's rainy, you take out your umbrella. You don't stop, you know? That's what you find in Mumbai also. So, I draw parallels between the two cities in a lot of matters because you go on with your pace of life. Things like weather don't come in your way. I love grey. Grey skies and rain ... – Vidya (London, 9th June, 2009)

Vidya's articulation of the impact of weather on everyday life is an example of how she 'weathers' the weather (Vanini *et al*, 2012). She talked about how the weather 'envelops' (Ingold, 2005) citizens of both Mumbai and London but never deters them, like more extreme conditions can. Khushi mentioned the incapacitating effect of Toronto winters; which make her yearn for the cold weather of Delhi (Interview, 20th November, 2009). Urban street life in Delhi during the winters livens up after the gruelling summers and the sultry monsoons. This was in direct contrast to how Khushi 'weathered' the winters (Vanini *et al*, 2012) in Toronto, being confined indoors[42]. Interestingly, both Khushi and Vidya spoke about how they missed the scent of rain on parched earth or *geeli mitti* (in Hindi). Pocock (1993: 13) claimed that we are capable of identifying a place based on its smell alone because "each latitude is structured by its own particular smells". Undoubtedly, the smell of wet earth or *geeli mitti* that the students mention are reminders of India because it refers to the rain falling on parched earth after a brutal summer. Monsoons are a part of Indian everyday life, and perhaps, it is this that students are referring to. In fact, Vidya made a direct comparison between rain in India and London, stating that it was not the same because "... the rain here, it drizzles. Not the downpour you are used to" (Interview in London, 9th June, 2009). Khushi ratioanlized the lack of the smell by stating that "... maybe [because] there is so much concrete all around" (Interview in Toronto, 20th November, 2009). This refers to the (hyper)urbanity of Toronto compared to that of her hometown, New Delhi. These subtle differences in smell act as reminders that they are somewhere away from home. In this sense, Hilary Geogeghan's (2011) research is pertinent to my study because it draws on the importance of the olfactory sense in evoking the past and making connections between places and people. Among all the senses, it is the most potent in

[42] The interconnections between the weather and everyday spatialities will be further discussed in the section 5.3.

conjuring up the past and as a result, connects different places in different times (Geogeghan, 2011). First encounters in the city not only include the sensory and the affectual, but also the social aspects of urban life, which contribute to the feeling at home/not home.

5.2.2. Corporeal and embodied mobilities

Simonsen (2000: 50) states that walking in the city "is a spatial practice using and performing the urban system in a way that secretly influences the determining conditions of urban life. It is a *lived space* (italics in original)—a space of disquieting familiarity with the city". In this sense, walking in the city is a 'mobile form of belonging' (Fallov *et al*, 2013) wherein a sense of attachment is developed through the affectual and social experiences and "the meaning generated through rhythms and routines shapes the relationship between mobile community practices and local belonging" (2013: 476). Feeling at home in the city also occurs through repetitive travel between two places. This destabilizes further the idea of mobility as an antithesis of dwelling or attachment to a place because "a route well travelled may over time turn into a meaningful place, just like the places or the nodes at either end of the route" (Adey, 2010: 73).

Students in London and Toronto experienced the city in different ways and this was related to different kinds of walking practices. In London, most students were more involved in 'discursive walking' (Wunderlich, 2008) in which the journey is more important than the destination. In Toronto, on the other hand, most students practised 'purposive walking' (Wunderlich, 2008) wherein the destination is more important. In the first instance, the students had different encounters with people on the streets and urban public places, while the main function of the second is to travel from point A to

point B. Students living near downtown Toronto mostly walked from their residences to their universities/classes, to the nearest subway station, and to the grocery store. Their engagement with city spaces was limited to their daily necessities. Students in London, on the other hand, not only practised purposive walking, but also ventured out to 'explore' and 'discover' different parts of the city on foot (Solnit, 2002). The city unfolded before them in varied urban spaces.

Figure 4: Gautam's walk along the Thames

Gautam's diary entry on *9th September, 2009, Wednesday:*

> *The Southbank's gorgeous—the skateboarders are busy, the graffiti (again! I have a fixation!) is colourful, people buzz about the books being sold in front of the NFT. They've changed the place a bit. It's become a little yuppiefied. Take a stroll by the river. I notice the lights arranged on a building—they look like [sic] glowing matchsticks. Head towards the Tate, cross over the Millennium bridge [sic]. Walk all the way through bank and Liverpool Street, which heaves with alte-evening-rush-hour-life. Take the bus through Hackney, and stop at Broadway market for a beer n coffee. Walk by the Canal towards home.*

Rebecca Solnit, in her 2002 book, *Wanderlust: A history of walking*, gives an evocative and stirring account of walking in all forms and in all geographical locations. She connects urban walking with belonging and a sense of ownership of the place. The above excerpt from Gautam's diary was accompanied with the photograph, which describes one of his daily walks in London. His observation of city life on the south of the river

on a Wednesday afternoon reminds us of Rebecca Solnit's poetic description of urban walking as linking "reading the map with living one's life, the personal microcosm with the public macrocosm; it makes sense of the maze all around" (2002: 176). Gautam reflected upon city life around him and commented on the changing nature of the place. This indicates how often he visited the place and his sense of attachment to it. The narration of his walk is filled with detailed sensory description of the sound of the traffic and the sight of the city lights. The reader can almost smell the heady combination of beer and coffee at Broadway Market and experience the quietude of the walk by the canal. Gautam's account illuminates the possibility of challenging the disconnections between mind/body/city while suggesting a synchronization of the same (Morris, 2004). The multi-sensory experiences of urban life (Adams and Guy, 2007) through walking are further illustrated in Richa's photograph of the pavements (Fig. 5).

Figure 5: London pavements conducive for walking

... they have such good infrastructure here and the footpaths are so well maintained, it makes life much easier and walking is a pleasure

> in London because of the footpath ... – Richa (London, 22nd July, 2009)

Richa, had mentioned in an earlier interview that the pavements would be the one thing she would miss the most about London (Interview, 15th July, 2009). She had elaborated this by comparing the experience of walking in an Indian city where one has to constantly to jostle crowds, avoid pushy vendors and keep a lookout for potholes. Lahiri's (2011) interviewees' accounts of the embodied practices of walking through the streets of Kolkata are similar. Middleton (2010) discusses the importance of various materialities of walking such as clothing and shoes. By focusing on these 'mundane technologies' (Middleton, 2010), of walking the discussion indicates a pre-occupation with three prerequisites of taking a walk, i.e. free time, a place to go, and a body unhindered by illness or social restraints (Solnit, 2002: 234). But the most fundamental prerequisite as pointed out by Richa and Lahiri's Brahmo participants (2011) is 'urban walkability' (Forsyth and Southworth, 2009). London and Toronto vary in this respect as a recent report on Toronto revealed (Toronto Public Health, 2012). According to the study, people living in the city of Toronto on an average walked more frequently than the residents of GTA (see List of Abbreviations). This was also reflected in the walking practices of students living in Toronto. It was only students living in downtown Toronto who spoke about 'discursive walking' or 'urban roaming' (Wunderlich, 2008).

Figure 6: Raj's daily walk to the university

> ... This is sort of like a representative of my daily walk. I didn't take snaps at every point of time, but basically I just walk on footpaths all through downtown to reach any place that I have to, be it my college or going to any shopping centre ... – Raj (Toronto, 24th January, 2010)

Raj's practice of walking from his residence to all the places catering to his daily necessities (such as the university and shopping places) is an example of purposive walking (Wunderlich, 2008). Murthi and Nisha in London shared a series of photographs charting their everyday routes from their residence to campus/university. Distance of the residence from the university/campus therefore is an important factor in determining the kind of walking practice. Several other factors such as walking at night and the route taken during solitary walks are affected by not only location of the students' residences but also their gender. Except for Monica in Toronto[43], none of the other women in London and Toronto mentioned walking alone at night. Monica did so in order to continue her habit in India, which is another strategy of making an unfamiliar place home. Lakshmi mentioned taking long walks at night with her (male) friend in certain areas of central London. However, (both male and female) students

[43] Raj was the only other person in Toronto who mentioned taking walks at night.

living in university residences near central London participated not only in purposive walking but also recreational walking, as was demonstrated by Anuradha.

Figure 7: Anuradha's walk through Chapel Market

> ... On an average day, this whole year, if I am not in college or at home, I am usually wandering around Angel. Either at Chapel Market, where you can just browse, even if you don't buy anything. Lots of stores and things. [...] why I like Angel and why I am pretty glad I'm in the area is because it has everything. It has got snippets of everything. I recently discovered the vintage part, which is next to Angel station. It's called the Camden Passage. It's got vintage shops, antique shops, which is really nice. [...] Walking on your own, when you are not with people, you feel more of yourself ... – Anuradha (London, 24th July, 2009)

Anuradha explored certain specific sections of the area around Angel-Islington in London. This pertained to her personal preferences, just like Vidya walked to the Spitalfields Markets on Sundays, a place where she could "de-stress" (Vidya's undated diary entry on a Sunday). Richa mentioned other urban street markets like Borough Market and Camden market which she loved because of the atmosphere (Interview, 15th June, 2009). Gautam's favourite Sunday activity was to spend time at the Brick Lane market. Although a marketplace is traditionally considered a space for urban sociality (Watson, 2009) the students used this space mostly on their own as it provided them with the urban quality of anonymity in a crowd of strangers (Solnit, 2002). Urban

public spaces such as plazas and squares encourage socializing (including people-watching) and instil a sense of urban belonging (Antonsich, 2010). Students in London talked about a few such open spaces which they visited alone.

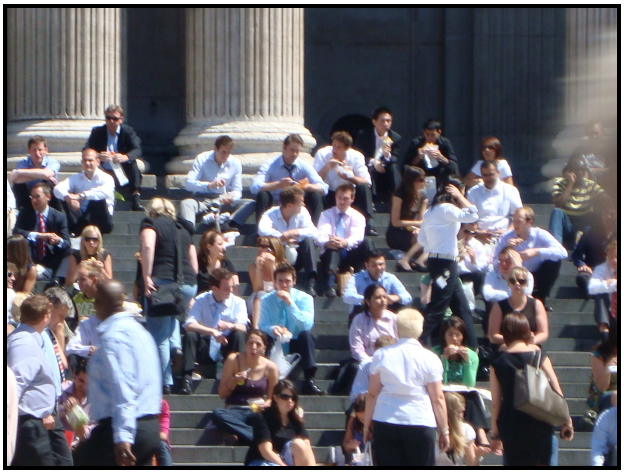

Figure 8: Lunch on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral

> ... I just happened to pass by and what I noticed was that people were stepping out in the sun and grabbing a sandwich on the stairs.
> – Indranil (London, 29th June, 2009)

Indranil, a blogger who wrote about his life in London had a passion for recording his life in London through photographs. Taking photographs during his numerous walks in the city was an integral part of his identity. His favourite pastime was also to 'watch the world go by' (Shaftoe, 2008) as was illustrated in the photograph of office-goers having lunch on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral (Fig. 8). While describing the significance of the photograph Indranil explained that he found it a very different scene from the one that he expected to encounter in central London because it was a juxtaposition of the formal and the informal—people in formal attire were having an informal lunch on the steps of one of the architectural/cultural icons of London. St. Paul's Cathedral is one of the tourist attractions of London but on a weekday afternoon

Indranil was fascinated to observe that instead of the place being teeming with tourists, was a place where (presumably) regular office-goers sat down for lunch.

The other form of mobility was the daily commute by bus or by underground train in London and Toronto. The students had an unequal relationship with these forms of public transport, with more students in London sharing photographs and stories of their everyday journeys than those in Toronto.

Figure 9: View of London from a bus

> ... The city which I have become very familiar with and I just wanted to take a picture. It reminds me that this is something which is so different from what I have lived in the past. [...] those are places which I see every day. I don't think twice when I am walking down that road. [...] So, it's become such a normal thing for me that I feel that it is a part of my life in London. – Anirban (London, 17th July, 2009)

The photograph above (Fig. 9) was taken by Anirban from the bus during one of his daily commutes from his university residence to his college. Although he travelled by the same route almost every day, he did not talk about the journey as being "sterile, tedious and uneventful" (Binnie *et al*, 2007a: 167) but as something which created "a sense of spatial belonging" (Binnie *et al*, 2007a: 167). For Anirban then, his daily commute was related to a "mobile sense of home" (Edensor, 2003: 154). Through his

everyday mobility from one point to another he also moved through spaces, which through repetition became familiar over time. Although Lakshmi mentioned that the London 'landscape' did not seem unfamiliar to her after living there for a year, she nevertheless, enjoyed travelling by bus because it gave her a different perspective of the city (Interview, 24th June, 2009).

Vivek liked exploring London alone and with his friends. So, for him, becoming familiar with the city's public transport was important to his everyday mobility.

Figure 10: Vivek's collage of three important buses

> ... these are three very important numbers. 38, 19, 341. Right outside my hostel was a bus stop. These buses connect [you] everywhere from my Hall to London. Wherever you are, and even if it's two o'clock or three o'clock in the morning, these buses they run 24 hours and they drop [you off] right outside the hostel. So, there's no hassle. – Vivek (London, 24th July, 2009)

Vivek admitted that the collage was created by his flatmate who wanted to depict the importance of the buses in their everyday lives. In this case, with familiarity, there is an underlying sense of security. Being able to return safely to his residence even late at night instilled in his routine a certain and "necessary degree of predictability and comfort" (Binnie *et al*, 2007a: 167). However, all bus journeys are not experienced

positively. Kiran (in Toronto), did not like taking the bus because she felt nauseated and suffocated inside crowded buses (Interview, 22nd November, 2009). In Toronto, during winters, the buses are heated and so the windows remain shut. Kiran had felt sick during one such commute. On the other hand, Indranil felt that London buses were more comfortable than the underground trains in the summer (Interview, 20th May, 2009). These examples indicate the affectual and embodied potentialities of banal and mundane mobilities (Binnie *et al*, 2007b).

Apart from observing the world outside from the bus, there are other ways in which "mobility is practiced" (Cresswell, 2006: 3, as quoted in Hui, 2013: 904). Pooja, for example, preferred listening to music on her ipod during her hour-long commute (Interview, 17th June, 2009). Being comfortable with her surroundings due to her knowledge of the familiar sights en route (Edensor, 2003), the bus journey was rendered 'mundane and banal' (Binnie *et al*, 2007a). Anthony had expressed something similar when he said that what had been strange and scary in the beginning had become dull and monotonous later (Interview, 22nd August, 2009). Routine practice is associated with repetitive behaviour of people (Hui, 2013) in space, which makes the unfamiliar familiar. This familiarity evokes a sense of comfort and belonging and is not limited to spaces that one traverses daily but also in "practical competencies" (Binnie *et al*, 2007a: 166) such as the best time to travel.

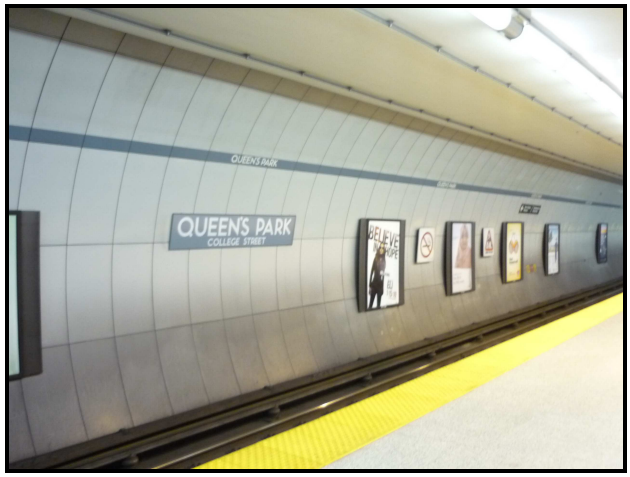

Figure 11: "Queen's Park—the hub of my Toronto world"

The photograph shows an empty subway station during the early hours of a winter morning. Sahil commuted to YU by subway. He described the photograph as 'the hub of his Toronto world' because it was the subway which got him everywhere in the city (Interview, 21st January, 2010). His familiarity and sense of home in the city was informed by his mobility, which in this case, was dependent upon the proximity of the subway station to his downtown apartment. He felt connected to the city because he could easily move around using the public transport.

Daily commutes to places within the city helped Indian students to learn about everyday life around them, which is also an important aspect of solitary walks (Bairner, 2011). While solitary walking is an important way through which public spaces are "used and inhabited" (Solnit, 2002: 174), such solitary peregrinations are also infused with emotional qualities. Mundane and banal mobility such as taking the bus is, much like walking, considered a taken-for-granted and "largely self-evident means of getting from one place to another" (Middleton, 2010: 578). But, as has been discussed in this section, they are infused with meaning because they generate a sense of belonging and home within the urban spaces. The urban spatialities of Indian students in the two cities decoded this assumed urban activity (of commuting and walking) by (pointing

out) the significance of several factors such as aspects of urban form and gender (to name a few) in charting the similarities and differences in the experiences of London and Toronto. However, Indian students' im/mobilities were not limited to the city.

Indranil felt a similar sense of connection not only to London but also outside the city. The photograph of Victoria Station (Fig. 12) was important for Indranil because it held memories of past travel outside London. It was the symbol of his connection with places outside the city and was replete with emotional qualities of places visited in the past.

Figure 12: Victoria Station—connecting London with places outside

5.2.3. Im/mobilities beyond the city

> Subhadra: Why did you want to go to these places? Why did you think of taking these day trips?
>
> Indranil: Frankly, because UK is not just about London. There are other places too, so you go, you visit. Unless you visit different parts of a country you are never really familiar with it. At the end of the day, I would say I am familiar with London, but I wouldn't say I am familiar with UK. There's more to UK than London.
>
> (London, 20th May, 2009).

Indranil equates travelling and familiarizing himself with the country with familiarizing himself with London. For him, travelling was an integral part of his international sojourn in London. However, the same cannot be said of the students in Toronto. Students in Toronto focussed on the constraints for travel (Gardiner *et al*, 2013). There were significant differences in the travel patterns of students in London and Toronto, from the number of places visited, the kinds of places visited, with whom they visited, and the mode of transport availed. Colleges of London like LSE, Queen Mary, and Imperial arranged excursions for international students during the Orientation Week. This eased the transition for many students and helped them forge friendships and familiarize themselves with the city and the country. In Toronto, on the other hand, students not only visited limited places, but these were also mostly out of personal initiatives.

Travel behaviours of international students have so far been brought under the purview of tourism research (Glover 2011b, Michael *et al*, 2003). But Glover (2011a) argues that the blurring boundaries between temporary and permanent migration (since he considers tourism to be temporary migration), complicates the position of international students as 'international visitors' or domestic travellers. Glover (2011a) has compared the travel behaviour of domestic and international students in Australia by challenging the definition of an 'international visitor'. The Study Tourism survey delineates short-term (and hence, international) visitors as those who resided in Australia for not more than 365 days. In that respect, international students enrolled in a course of a longer duration would be considered domestic travellers (unless they left for their home country and returned within one year). Glover's (2011a) study took into consideration two groups of international students, i.e. those who had lived in Australia for more

than a year and those who had resided there longer. His quantitative study results indicate that there are considerable differences between travel behaviours (in all aspects considered in the study) of domestic and international students and there were no significant differences between the two groups of international students. Further, Glover (2011a) adds that other issues such as "feelings of emotional connection or belonging to the destination as a current or former home country" (2011a: 272) would also affect international students' travel behaviour by connecting to aspects of acculturation. Lee and Cox's (2007) research on the impact of acculturation on immigrants' travel lifestyle can be a starting point for such a discussion but whether comparisons can be drawn with non-immigrant populations is subject to further research.

Following Fallov *et al*'s (2013) argument about considering mobilities not as antithetical to belonging but in fact, contributing to it, I discuss the travel behaviours of students in UK and Canada. Out of the 20 students, 15 (eight women and seven men) had travelled outside London, while 10 (four women and 6 men) out of the 16 in Toronto had visited a place outside the city. The reasons behind such constraints were summarized by Nayantara.

> Subhadra: So you haven't been to any other city in Canada?
>
> Nayantara: No, I haven't. I haven't ventured out of Toronto.
>
> Subhadra: When did you arrive in Canada?
>
> Nayantara: 2007.
>
> Subhadra: Did you travel in the US [as an international student]?
>
> Nayantara: Yes. I could do that because I had more money to do that. [...] But here, frankly speaking, living is so much day to day, that you just break even at the end of the month and you simply don't have that cash left for travel. I would say that money has been the most important constraint for my travelling in Canada and to a

> lesser extent, it's just the company. I don't have that many friends here, which wasn't the case in the US. I had a lot of friends who I could travel with and incidentally one of the biggest and most exciting adventures was going to Mexico with three friends of mine and that turned out to be an experience of a lifetime. Money I would say 98% and 2% is the company.
>
> (Toronto, 5th December, 2009).

Nayantara's trip to Mexico with her friends during her student days in the US indicates her interest in travel, which is what makes the above discussion even more interesting because it reveals the place specificity of travel constraints of an international student. She had a scholarship in the form of a teaching assistantship. Like most other international students, financial factors were a major cause of concern and in her case, it affected her travel plans. Li and Stodolska's (2007) study of Chinese international graduate students in the US revealed that other factors like 'lack of time, cultural differences and language barriers, lack of (American) friends' (2007: 15) among others were more important constraints. Indian students in Toronto however, reflected Gardiner *et al*'s (2013) study which found that financial concerns were the biggest inhibitor to travel. Like Nayantara, Sahil also mentioned that lack of funds was the main reason behind opting out of academic conferences and it made him uncomfortable when someone else asked him about it. It also made him conscious of his own position and identity, something he claimed to always to 'foreground', and something that he had learned to adapt to (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009).

> ... I am always different from someone who's Canadian or someone who's a domestic student. So for me it's always obvious, right? I mean I always run into those kinds of walls that create that separation and most of it is systemic kind of stuff. The most obvious ones are like school, of being there and knowing that when someone asks me if I am going to that conference, for me it's always cash. I know that it will always be difficult for me to put aside 1500 bucks, even if I manage to get some funding. And a lot of that people just take for granted. I mean something as simple as going to

> Montreal, staying there for 3 days becomes a task for me, because I know it would cost me 500 or 600 bucks to pull that off. And most of the time, I can't pull that off because I don't have that kind of money in the bank and I am mostly living hand to mouth. – Sahil (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009).

Forbes-Mewett *et al*'s (2009) paper on international students' finances in an Australian university discussed that there still is insufficient information regarding this aspect of international students' lives. A publication by UKCOSA-UNITE (2006) reveals that 46% of international students (of their study) faced financial difficulties, but unlike a majority of UK domestic students who were in debt at the time of enrolment and who anticipated being in debt after their studies, 68% of international students did not anticipate being in debt. This was mainly because they were either self-funded or were funded by family (78%). The link between funding sources and travel behaviour was found in my empirical study as out of 15 students who travelled outside London, 13 were self-funded and two had college studentships. In Toronto, five out of the 10 who travelled outside the city were self-funded and the rest had a scholarship. Also, those who had access to college/university funds frequently travelled to attend academic conferences. Therefore, it can be said that financial security and a steady (and interest-free) source of funds is an important criterion for travel opportunities. Forbes-Mewett *et al* (2009) stated that international students from an Asian country were more likely to "consider their financial support adequate" (2009: 22). Sahil's identity as an international student was defined by the lack of funds as it had an impact on various aspects of his life (as discussed in other chapters). In fact, his decision to apply for a PhD degree was to gain time to pay off his MA tuition fees[44]. However, financial

[44] This was because by the time he had applied for the PhD programme international students were allowed to work part-time on campus in Canada. So, he could continue to pay off the tuition fees while pursuing a PhD. Also, he had earned a scholarship which had helped him further.

constraints are not the only impediment for travel. Rohan pointed out that the other significant factor was access to private transportation (which is also related to finances).

> ... you are not here just to study. You are here to socialize, to travel, have fun, interact with people, [and] make friends. Basically, you have to commute for all those things. And having a car makes a huge difference, or having a friend who has a car makes a huge difference. – Rohan (Toronto, 25th September, 2009).

Rohan's thoughts were echoed by Monica who said she would "have been all over Canada" (Interview, Toronto, 11th December, 2009) if only she had a car and a travel companion. One of the findings of Gardiner *et al*'s (2013) study on nationality-based differences in travel behaviours of international students was that Indian students preferred the car as the predominant mode of travel. However, another Australia-based study (Glover, 2011a) found that international students travelled more frequently by other means of transport like the plane or the train. Glover's (2011a) study corroborates earlier research on international students in the US (Kim & Jogaratnam, 2003). In Canada, three out of ten students mentioned travelling in rented cars. In London, on the other hand, the train and coach were the preferred modes of travel. Also, the student discounts available in UK created more affordable opportunities for travel in addition to the fact that UK was a smaller country than Canada.

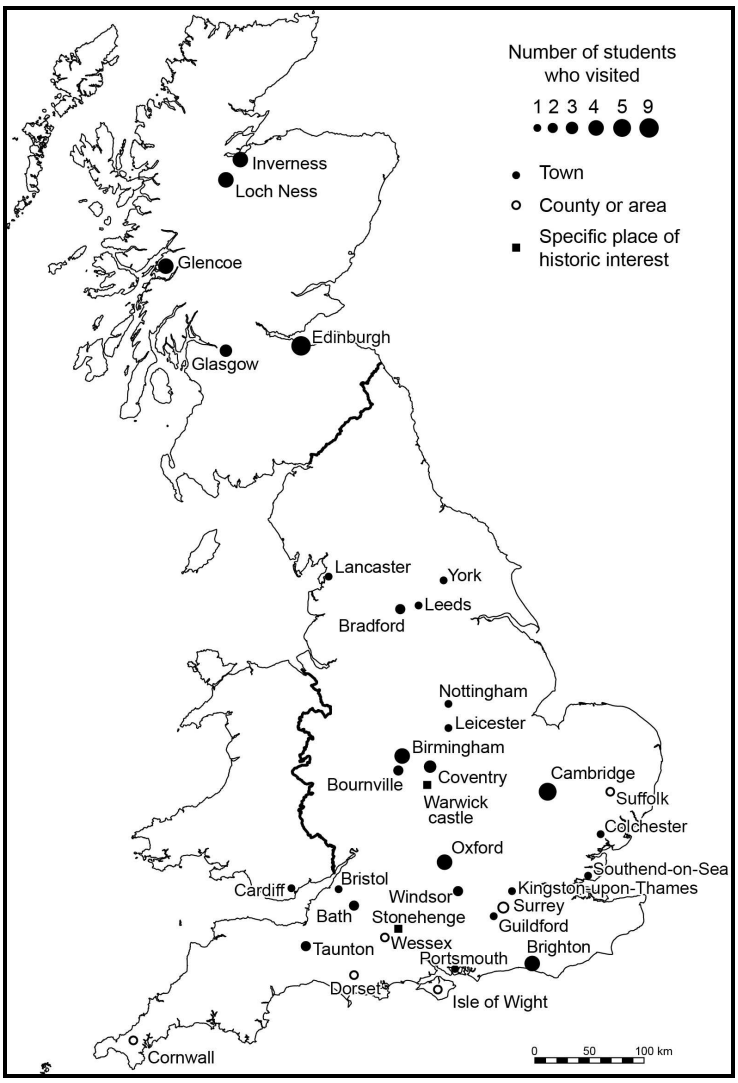

Figure 13: Map of Great Britain showing places visited outside London

The most striking difference, however, was the number and nature of places visited by the students in UK and Canada. In UK, Edinburgh was the most visited (Fig. 13). Out of the nine who visited the capital city of Scotland (see Table 12), four (Vivek, Nisha, Anjali, and Richa) were LSE students. LSE had organized the trip for all international students. Loch Ness, Inverness and Glencoe were also part of the same trip. This was followed by Cambridge, which was visited by five students, and Oxford, Brighton, Birmingham, and Glasgow by four students each. This pattern indicates an interest in visiting UK's tourist attractions which pertains to travel behaviours of international

visitors (Glover, 2011a). But apart from tourist destinations, students in London also went for day trips to Coventry, Surrey, Windsor, Bournville, and Bradford to name a few. Anthony visited Leeds and York while staying with his uncle for a weekend in Leeds and, as part of the UCL cricket team, he had also played in Brighton. Vidya loved taking walks in the country and went with friends to Colchester, Wessex, and Taunton. On her birthday, she had planned a solitary walking tour in Dorset. Teresa, on the other hand, went to attend academic conferences in Lancaster, Southampton, Cambridge, and Bristol. Gautam, a published poet had been to Leicester and Coventry for his poetry-reading sessions. The multifarious causes for travelling outside London present a more mobile group of students whose travel behaviour is not typical of international visitors (Glover, 2011a).

Table 12

Places visited outside London

Name of participants	**Places visited outside London**
Anirban	Birmingham
Anjali	Coventry, Edinburgh, Glencoe, Inverness, Loch Ness
Anthony	Stonehenge, Bath, Leeds, Braford, York, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Brighton
Anuradha	Suffolk, Taunton, Cambridge, Bradford, Brighton
Eeshwar	Coventry, Cardiff, Notthingham, Edinburgh
Gautam	Brighton, Leicester, Coventry, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Cornwall
Indranil	Portsmouth, Glasgow, Bath
Lakshmi	Brighton, Edinburgh
Nisha	Surrey, Edinburgh, Bournville, Birmingham, Windsor, Cambridge, Oxford, Glencoe, Inverness, Loch Ness

Pooja	Southend-on-sea
Richa	Isle of Wight, Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Birmingham, Warwick Castle
Rishi	Birmingham, Kingston-upon-Thames, Oxford, Edinburgh
Teresa	Bristol, Lancaster, Cambridge, Surrey, Guildford
Vidya	Dorset, Taunton, Colchester, Wessex, Cambridge
Vivek	Bournville, Oxford, Glencoe, Inverness, Loch Ness, Windsor

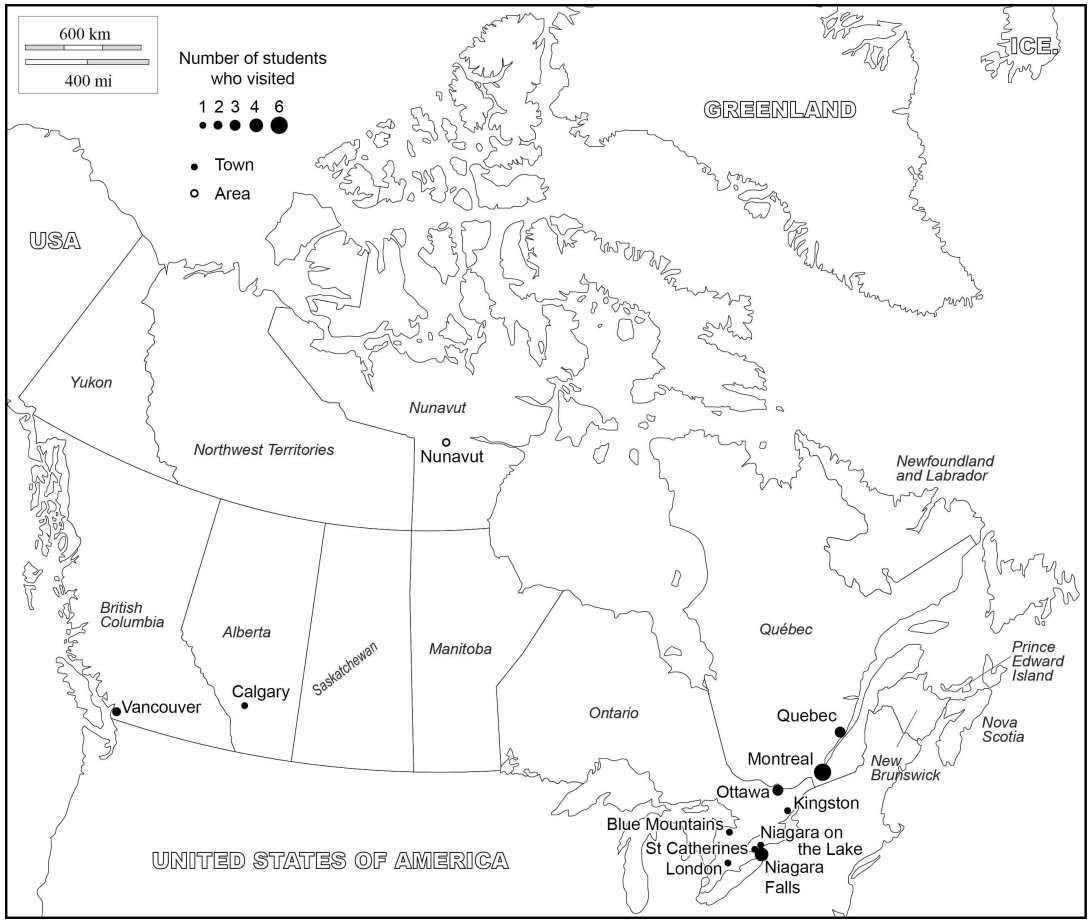

Figure 14: Map of Canada showing places visited outside Toronto

Table 13	
Places visited outside Toronto	
Name of participant	**Places visited**
Amitav	Montreal
Khushi	Niagara Falls, Montreal, Quebec City, Vancouver
Kiran	Kingston (Ontario), Ottawa
Madan	Niagara Falls, Montreal, Ottawa
Monica	St. Catherine, Niagara Falls, Niagara on the Lake
Prasanna	Ottawa
Rohit	Montreal, Blue Mountains, Niagara Falls
Sahil	Vancouver, Montreal, Quebec City
Saurav	Calgary, Nunavut
Shruti	Montreal, Quebec City

In Canada (Fig. 14), students tended not to travel outside the city as much as their London counterparts. Montreal was the most popular destination with a total of six students (out of the total of 10 who travelled outside the city) visiting the city (See Table 13). This was followed by Niagara Falls, Ottawa, and Quebec City. Travel behaviour of students in Toronto resembled those of international visitors visiting tourist destinations like Niagara Falls as well as those resembling domestic visitors travelling to nearby places (Glover, 2011a). Sahil and Khushi both had travelled to Vancouver to attend academic conferences. Saurav had travelled to Calgary, and had also been to Nunavut on a camping trip, signifying "just a spark of randomness" (Interview, Toronto, 3rd December, 2009). Monica, on the other hand, had visited

Niagara on the Lake with friends and had stayed at another Canadian friend's house in London, Ontario. Her diary entry had read thus:

> *Thursday:*
> *[...]*
> *6:30—took a bus to London, Ontario from Bay and Dundas*
> *9:00—arrived in London. Adriana (a friend) picked me up*
> *11:00pm—had dinner/supper lentils and rice*
> *1:00am—went to bed*
> *Friday:*
> *10:30am—woke up, had breakfast (Colombian cornbread)*
> *1:00pm—lunch rice and pork, plus Colombian coffee with ants [...]*

This snippet demonstrates the richness and diversity of experiences that Indian students were exposed to during their travels. The number of places that students in Canada visited were much less (12) compared to those in UK (35), indicating that the students in London were more mobile than those in Canada. I argue that there is a direct correlation between travel behaviours of students outside the city and their engagements with urban spaces within the city. As will be discussed in the following sections, students in London performed a wide range of activities in urban spaces, while in Toronto students' urban spatialities were quite limited in terms of frequency and scope of travel. The above discussion sets the stage for exploring dis/connections between im/mobilities and belonging in urban spaces.

The first encounters with city spaces are an important aspect of feeling at home/not home in the city, but navigation of the everyday urban spaces further enriches these experiences. The importance of having a social circle/friendship network as affecting the im/mobilities of students in London and Toronto is discussed more fully in the following section.

5.3. Friendship networks and sociality

> ... one thing that I learned, even [while] working in Hyderabad [is that] unless you get good friends, you don't really like the city ... – Prasanna (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

Prasanna articulates the main theme of this section of the chapter, i.e. the importance of friendship networks in feeling at home in the city. Hopkins' (2010) and more recently Hörschelmann and van Blerk's (2012) research on young people's use of urban spaces are timely discussions of a topic which remains largely 'invisible' (Evans, 2008) from the mainstream. Bunnell *et al* (2012) recognize the social significance of friendships and this is true for international students whose primary realm of socialization is with co-national and international friends (Brown, 2009). Brown (2009) details the general observation (and academic debate) regarding intercultural relations between domestic and international students. Montgomery and McDowell (2009) also articulate the domestic students' propensity to make friends with co-nationals as potentially and 'unintentionally' segregating the two groups socially (Hendrickson *et al*, 2011) and spatially (Fincher and Shaw, 2011). However, Indian students in London and MBA students (of YU) in Toronto seemed to demonstrate a certain level of 'cultural mix' (Volet and Ang, 2012) with domestic and other international students. The significance of friendship/social networks (Conradson and Latham, 2005b) affecting daily im/mobilities (Skelton, 2013) is the focus of this section.

5.3.1. Foodscapes

Consuming familiar food is an essential part of the everyday lives of international students (Brown *et al*, 2010). Familiar or comfort foods (Locher *et al*, 2005) is an equally important aspect of urban belonging (Collins, 2008a). Like the Irish women of Kneafsey and Cox's (2002) study and Polish immigrants of Coakley's (2012) study,

Indian students also sought out grocery stores which sold Indian food. However, it was the issue of distance which affected the frequency of buying familiar food. Indian students need certain familiar food products both fresh and processed (Valentine, 1999) as part of making a home in the city. For the purpose, going to Indian grocery stores was an important part of their everyday lives.

> ... being an Indian, you also want to buy Indian food, Indian spices, Indian things. And none of them are close by, so you really have to go far away, and fetch them and it's really a very tedious job, especially during the winter, when it's cold and there's snow everywhere. ... – Rohan (Toronto, 25th September, 2009)

The relationship between residential location and im/mobilities is most apparent for students living on YU campus. For students living on YU campus, going to an Indian grocery store was a chore because of the distance they had to travel to reach them. They sought out South Asian grocery stores near their areas, most of which entailed a special trip that required prior planning. This meant that Indian grocery shopping was a weekly or bi-weekly activity which required taking time out specifically for this activity. Rohan made a similar remark about these 'grocery trips' while sharing a series of photographs (Fig. 15)[45] charting his journey from the YU campus bus stop to the grocery store.

[45] I have made a collage of Rohan's photographs with the help of the free software Picasa.

Figure 15: Collage of grocery shopping in Toronto

While explaining the last photograph he drew my attention to the number of Maggi[46] packets in his trolley indicating how much he depended on them for his sustenance, also indicating his affective attachment to the food product (Coakley, 2012). It also signified his Indian identity and student lifestyle of mostly surviving on processed food (Brown *et al*, 2010). Madan added a few more details to a similar story wherein he narrated how he and his friends had to stop several times on the way (because of the heavy bags) from the bus stop to their residences, which was about a 20 minute walk. They shared a laugh on the way and even stopped to take photographs so that the chore was transformed into a fun outing with friends (Fig. 16).

[46] The importance of the instant noodles in question in the lives of Indian students is discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

Figure 16: Madan's grocery shopping trip

> ... Grocery [shopping]. I never did this in my entire life until I came here. In India we had someone to buy for us, cook for us. [...] we had to carry this heavy stuff from York Lanes till here. It was pretty bad. I remember walking with the heavy stuff. It was crap. But it was fun just taking a break every five minutes, just laughing about all the things. It was good. – Madan (Toronto, 18th January, 2010)

In contrast, Nayantara and Josh mentioned how it was much easier for them to buy groceries (and not specifically Indian groceries) in the downtown area where both of them lived. Nayantara had compared her experience of buying groceries to when she lived in a New Jersey suburb[47] where she had to make weekly journeys by hiring a car; to the city to buy groceries (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009). Her experience in New Jersey resonated in the experiences of the students living in YU campus, which was also located near the Greater Toronto area of Vaughn; which is the northern-most edge of the city (see Fig, 2). Khushi spoke about the differences in the spatialities concerning buying groceries after her husband joined her in Toronto. Earlier, while living alone on YU campus, she would go to the nearest store and buy whatever she needed or take the bus once a month to the Indian grocery store. But since she started living with her husband, they went to different stores (all in downtown Toronto where they lived) for different products.

[47] She did her Masters at Rutger's University.

> ... Now we do all fancy things. We do our Thursday grocery [sic] at farmer's market; we go to Whole Foods at Museum; sometimes we go to No Frills to buy fish [...] and Indian grocery [sic] is separate, of course. It's close to our place ... – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

She pointed out that the Indian grocery store was closer to her residence as opposed to the time when she lived on campus and had to travel extensively to get there. Khushi's description of her current grocery shopping schedule also pointed to her marital status and how the presence of family (Conradson and Latham, 2007) may have an impact on individual spatialities (Collins, 2012). While students living on YU campus in Toronto found grocery shopping to be an ordeal; students in London displayed a blasé attitude to it owing to the easy availability of these stores. The latter group neither shared photographs nor narrated incidents of grocery shopping in London. The above discussion on finding familiar food products not only indicates that the relationship between the location of the students' residences and their relational im/mobilities (Fincher and Shaw, 2011) is not only contextual, but also varies across cities.

The most significant way in which Indian students in London and Toronto maintained transnational links with India in urban spaces was by eating out in Indian restaurants in different parts of the city, depending on their residential location. So, while students living in east London went to the eatery that sold non-vegetarian *Dosa*[48] (Nandy, 2004) in East Ham; students living near Central London preferred going to Drummond Street, Covent Garden, and Angel-Islington (Fig. 17) to have a variety of Indian food.

[48] In India, *Dosa* is essentially a South Indian vegetarian dish but in London, the restaurant offered a variety of non-vegetarian variations; something which Narayanan had found surprising.

Figure 17: Indian restaurant in Angel-Islington, London

> Anuradha: ... this is the place I went to for lunch with these people on a Saturday. [...] it's in Angel. When you need Indian food, quick fix, you come here. This is vegetarian and it's not exactly the greatest thing in the world but the first time I went there, I was like 'Indian food. In Angel!' [...] Admittedly, it's not the best place, but it's sweet!
>
> Subhadra: what would you say is the best place in London?
>
> Anuradha: Well, actually the same night, we went with this same group of people to a place in Brick Lane called Maida, which is very good. To another place, which is also good, my flatmate had taken us all there, the whole flat. At Belsize Park. [...] and this one is convenient because it's in Angel and the price is also quite cheap. £3.95 for all you can eat.
>
> (London, 24th July, 2009)

Anuradha shared the above photograph of the Indian restaurant which she often visited not only with her Indian friends, but also with other international and British friends. Through the discussion of the different Indian restaurants she frequented, she also demonstrated how she negotiated these places with her friends. Although many students mentioned eating out, they were critical about the authenticity of Indian food or its lack thereof. Richa narrated an incident when she had visited an 'Indian' restaurant on Brick Lane but upon consuming the food, realized that it was not so much Indian as it was Bangladeshi (Interview and diary excerpt, 22nd July, 2009). The

experience of consuming "curry" (Buettner, 2008) which is how most Indian food is described (Nandy, 2004) worldwide is considered part of the British popular culture (Highmore, 2009). This homogenizing and essentialising (Cook, 2008) of the variety offered by the Indian cuisine was remarked upon by Monica thus:

> ... Another thing that I get upset about but you can't blame people when they say 'Oh, I really like Indian food', and I am like, 'what is Indian food?' and they are like, 'curry' and I am like, 'do you even know the diversity of Indian cuisine?' But curry, that's it. That's what everybody thinks Indian food is. – Monica (Toronto, 11th December, 2009)

Except Monica, other students in Toronto seemed less critical about what was being served as Indian food, as was evident from the 'visual narratives' (Datta, 2011), i.e. narrations accompanying photographs of eating out with friends in Indian restaurants. Nevertheless, having a meal in an Indian restaurant was about consuming familiar food amidst a familiar setting which would remind them of restaurants back home (Collins, 2008a), and re-creating that sense of home in their respective cities.

> ... I've been to Asian places or subcontinental places [in London but] there's this place down the road in Whitechapel called Biriyani House which is a life-saver. At times when you want to feel what spice is like and when your taste buds have been made sufficiently numb by the lack of salt and the lack of oil, you go to the Biriyani House and feel at home!—Shankar (London, June 25, 2009).

Shankar directly connects 'home' with his favourite (spicy and oily) food while comparing it with the blandness of English cuisine.

> ... there are certain places like if you go to Lahore Kebab House on Commercial Road. Fantastic! […] there's Trishna, which is one my favourite restaurants in Bombay and which is regarded as the one of the best restaurants in the world now. That has opened up in central London. There's this fantastic place called Café Grill, highly recommended, on Brick Lane where they make highly authentic Bangladeshi food, and they make a type of *mangsho*[49] which my mother would make because her parents originally came from

[49] Bengali for goat meat.

> Bangladesh called *jauler mangsho*[50]. [Then there is] *jalebi*, *samosa*. [...] I've had *mishti doi*[51] over here. [...] Even one day in Brick Lane I managed to find *jhalmuri*[52] made by Tapas-da. You can get *pav bhaji*[53] [...] so what would you miss?—Gautam ((London, 1st September, 2009)

The variety of familiar food that students could easily access in London had a significant impact on their feeling at home in the city. The meanings students attach to food relate to the idea of 'comfort food' (Locher *et al*, 2005) which explores the inter-relationship between emotional well-being and food consumption. While consuming familiar food with friends was a part of the everyday transnational practices (Crang *et al*, 2003) of Indian students, globalizing factors meant that students were also socialized into other cuisines and foods (Collins, 2008a).

Figure 18: Chocolate waffle on Oxford Street

> ... The chocolate waffle from the famous Belgian waffle on Oxford Street. This is one of the best waffles I have ever had. [...] Whenever I go to Oxford Street, 99.9% [of the times] I do have this chocolate waffle ... – Vivek (24th July, 2009)

[50] A preparation which is quite light in spices and the gravy is thin, as compared to the other richer varieties. Loosely translated, it means "water meat" which refers to the watery consistency of the gravy. The cooking preparation is also different from the standard technique. This is considered more of a home-cooked food, which explains his surprise in finding it in a restaurant.
[51] Sweetened curd, a Bengali speciality.
[52] Kolkata street food.
[53] Mumbai street food.

For Vivek, going to Oxford Street was incomplete without the waffles. When I asked if he had eaten waffles prior to his visit to London, his answer was in the affirmative. So, something that was exotic in India i.e. eating waffles; was a part of his weekend activities in London. As the photograph above shows, he was accompanied by a friend. Similarly, Indranil loved Chinese food and would often go to Chinatown with his friends (Interview, 29th June, 2009). Multi-layered meanings emerged from the students' engagement with different public spaces. It is this overlapping nature and messiness which brings public places to life (Shaftoe, 2008). Although for Shaftoe (2008), streets are 'SLAP or Spaces Left over After Planning', these too can have multiple functions and meanings for people by their everyday usage, as was demonstrated by the students. While Leicester Square is more popular for the variety of entertainment in the form of West End shows; for Anjali, Leicester Square was a special place because it was where she sometimes went to have ice-cream at night (Fig. 19).

Figure 19: Late night ice-cream in Leicester Square

> Häagen Dazs in Leicester Square. It's like my favourite haunt. [...] We were really happy after having that ice cream ... — Anjali (London, 23rd July, 2009)

Having ice cream of a particular brand and doing so with friends at an unlikely hour symbolized a number of things. Since Anjali lived in south London, commuting to and

from Leicester Square was easier, indicating her relative mobility within the city. Secondly, it signified that the students' lifestyles and urban spatialities are imbricated (Collins, 2012a). It also indicates the students' mobility within the city. Places are infused with multiple meanings by the way they are 'practised'. Finally, Anjali's experience is also representative of other similar nightly adventures in London.

5.3.2. Urban nightlife

Figure 20: Another view of Leicester Square

> ... Leicester Square I've been a few times. Once I have been with my flatmates dancing, once with a group of people. Quite a few times ... – Anuradha (London, 24th July, 2009)

Attending ballets, plays, operas, and musicals in London is in keeping with the 'affective possibilities' of London described by the New Zealanders of Conradson & Latham's (2007) study. 'Affective possibilities' has been defined as "opportunities that certain places offer, or are perceived to offer, for new modes of feeling and being" (Conradson & Latham, 2007: 235). But the spatiality of affect is never singular and parallel worlds can be experienced by different people within the same city. This is true for Indian students in London and Toronto. It was noted that students living near central London experienced the West End entertainment spaces more frequently than students living at a distance (with Gautam being an exception). Another explanation for

students' engagement with various cultural entertainment that London offered also relates to the 'temporarily permanent' (Collins, 2012a) nature of their stay in the city. Most participants were Masters students whose course duration was for a year, and who were mostly self-funded. This meant that their stay in London was akin to the 'overseas experience' of migrants from New Zealand (Conradson and Latham, 2005, 2007). In contrast to Fincher and Shaw's (2011) research on international students in Melbourne, students living in central London's 'entertainment precinct' did not fear those spaces but experienced them with their friends. The differences in spatialities in the context of recreational spaces were more apparent in Toronto.

> ... I think I have seen enough. I have seen enough, like inside Toronto, what's there [to see]? Can you name something? I have seen the Ontario Science Museum, Royal Ontario Museum, AGO[54]. I have been three or four times to each gallery. I haven't been to the Distillery. I have heard of the Shoe Museum, I have to go there. [...] Like I said, there isn't much to see in Toronto. It's more like, you know, indoors. You go for restaurants, bars, movies. That is it. Otherwise, people go outside like when summer came, I went to Quebec and all ... – Shruti (Toronto, 20th December, 2009)

Shruti's limited view of the city's entertainment/recreational opportunities was echoed by others living on YU campus (except MBA students of Schulich). However, such a simplistic distinction between students living in downtown Toronto and those living on YU campus would homogenize their experiences and erase the variable of individual choice. Khushi, who had moved to downtown Toronto after living on YU campus for two years, maintained that her primary space of socialization and recreation was still her dwelling (Interview, 20th November, 2009). Raj (Interview, 22nd December, 2009), who lived in a private shared accommodation in downtown Toronto, on the other hand, asserted that he had postponed his plans of seeing the sights of the city till his

[54] Art Gallery of Toronto.

wife joined him[55]. Saurav, who had always lived in downtown Toronto (unlike Shruti) also lamented the lack of museums in the city (Interview, 11th December, 2009). Sahil, who had gradually moved away from the YU campus because he had wanted to experience Toronto more fully did not mention leisure spaces in the city (Interview, 23rd December, 2009). The interconnectedness between friendships and familiarity in creating a sense of belonging (Bunnell *et al*, 2012) is also significant in the practice of these spaces. Im/mobilities are also intricately related to the ways in which the recreational/entertainment spaces of the city are experienced differently by students in the two cities. While these differences point to the ways in which the two cities are experienced, they also emphasize the importance of urban design (Shaftoe, 2008) and the availability and accessibility of youth spaces (Hopkins, 2011). And 'youth spaces' are almost synonymous to spaces of alcohol consumption (Jayne *et al*, 2006).

> *18th July, Saturday - Researched until afternoon, went to a friend's farewell party and then went to another friend's get-together and then went for my hostel party.* (Richa, London)

For Richa, London's nightlife allowed for numerous opportunities to socialize with friends. This was illustrated in the above diary excerpt and later elaborated during the interview. She had attended a friend's farewell party in a pub called Pitcher and Piano in Holborn where student discounts allowed her to have a relatively inexpensive meal (£5). Chatterton and Hollands (2002) mention such perks as strategies adopted by the owners of these establishments to attract a certain population, i.e. students. From there, she went with her friends to Covent Garden to a bar called Sway Bar. She charted her 'pub crawling' (Jayne *et al*, 2010) route from Covent Garden to Leicester Square to Charing Cross, returning to her residence at 11pm to attend a party which went on till

[55] Raj's wife was scheduled to visit him in a few weeks after the second interview. Later, he had plans to apply for their immigration.

1am. Her account of a particular Saturday 'night out' (Hubbard, 2005) with three different groups of friends was similar to Vidya's description of Thursday evenings out with her friends (Interview, 9th June, 2009). Not only do these accounts reflect the social relevance of these activities (Jayne *et al*, 2010), what is even more interesting is that both of them were non-drinkers. Although Vidya (like Vivek and Prasanna) stated their religion[56] as the reason for their abstinence (Valentine *et al*, 2010), all of them seemed quite comfortable being in the company of those who did. Richa on the other hand, stated that it was her personal choice to limit her drink to one. While she would have a single drink throughout the evening, Prasanna would have a glass of water instead. These were strategies to 'fit in' to the crowd while enjoying the company of friends (Nairn *et al*, 2006). None of the non-drinkers mentioned experiencing any peer pressure to drink. This perhaps relates to the inter-cultural interactions wherein domestic students maintain a distance with international students (Brown and Holloway, 2008) even while sharing the same space. Most students in London seemed quite comfortable immersing themselves in the British 'drinking culture' (Brown and Holloway, 2008) whether they were drinkers or not. Barring exceptions of Rishi and Eeshwar who mentioned consumption of alcohol as a prerequisite for 'having fun', others stated social interaction (Jayne *et al*, 2010) between friends as the most important reason behind their participation in alcohol-related activities. Richa's experience also points towards the gendered nature of this spatial practice. As noted by Schwanen *et al* (2012), spaces with a strong orientation towards students and young urban professionals as consumers had a 'higher gender balance' (2012: 2083). Perhaps this

[56] All three of them were Hindu. The study did not have any Muslim students.

factor can be attributed to the number of female students[57] enjoying London nightlife (Fig. 21), compared to no female students in Toronto mentioning such activities.

Figure 21: Enjoying urban nightlife with friends

Two other factors are recognized for the exclusion of women from such spaces (Valentine *et al*, 2010). First, all the female students who mentioned going to pubs and bars at night regularly did not do so unaccompanied (Schwanen *et al*, 2012) and were usually escorted home by male (usually co-national) friends. Female and male students expressed their surprise at finding that the British culture did not entail male friends accompanying their female friends back home after a 'night out'. For them, it was a culturally normative practice and which the female students depended upon. Although this may be interpreted as a regulation of the female body (Valentine *et al*, 2010) by other male members of the same nationality; the female students felt that this worked towards enhancing their mobilities within the night-time city spaces. However, this strategy did not mean that they did not face untoward incidents. Rishi narrated an incident aboard a city bus. He was returning home with some of his female companions in a night bus when some other commuters struck up a conversation with them. He felt threatened by their apparent friendliness because he equated their

[57] Six out of ten in London.

behaviour to drunkenness and therefore potentially dangerous. Although nothing untoward happened, he had made a mental note to himself to always take a taxi on such occasions.

Aspects of urban form such as availability of and subsequent dependence upon public transport and the distance of the residences from night-time entertainment spaces (Fincher and Shaw, 2011) also determined the im/mobilities of the students at night. Although Kiran (in Toronto) had not had any experiences of crime, it was still her gender that inhibited her from commuting more frequently to the city and downtown. She did not attend parties because "parties over here start at 10 o'clock" (Kiran, 22nd November, 2009) and she did not feel comfortable commuting late at night. Nisha (in London) felt that attending such parties was enjoyable only till the point that she could take the last bus or tube back to her residence (Interview, 22nd July, 2009). While most students living farther away from the city centre did not participate in such 'night outs' (Hubbard, 2005), Rishi and Eeshwar in London who lived near the QM campus and the MBA students of YU were notable exceptions.

Figure 22: Friend's birthday party in downtown Toronto

> ... We sometimes act crazy once in a while. [...] It was M's birthday. So we tried to lift him up and two or three guys came and tried to kick his butt, like the 'birthday bumps' that we have in India. We were just trying to do that. This was downtown. We were going to a club called the XX Bar. – Madan (Toronto, 18th January, 2010)

The photograph depicts what Madan described as a 'crazy night', and is illustrative of drunken revelry (Jayne *et al*, 2008). It also describes the continuation of a practice among young people in India called the 'birthday bumps' with non-Indian friends. Similar photographs were commonly shared by MBA students in Toronto. Among students living on campus, the most distinctive spatial practices pertaining to the city was observed among the MBA students at YU. Their photographs and narratives depicted that they populated spaces like nightclubs and bars almost on a weekly basis. There were several photographs with groups of friends in downtown bars. Most of the photographs had people in them, including the participants themselves. Classmates were present in almost all the photographs and most of them were a mix of Indian, Canadian, and other international students. Since YU is located in the north of the city, 'going downtown' was something that students spoke about at length. The spatio-temporal rhythms of the night-time economy (Roberts and Turner, 2005) involve negotiating city streets fraught with dangers from alcohol-fuelled crime and disorderly behaviour (Rowe and Bavinton, 2011). Familiarizing oneself with such spaces is a prerequisite for feeling safe (Modly, 2009) amidst such 'dangers'. Latham (2003) suggests that such new forms of public spaces not only create a new world but also act as new ways of inhabiting a city by "facilitating togetherness" (Jayne *et al*, 2010: 546) among friends and strangers.

While offering opportunities for fun and excitement amidst its dangers (Jayne *et al*, 2010), the city at night was also a place which imposed certain limits on the spatialities of students depending upon their gender, location of the residences and individual

choices (Valentine *et al*, 2010; Nairn *et al*, 2006). Friendship networks helped in forming strategies of safety and familiarity played out in spaces of alcohol consumption (Jayne *et al*, 2010). In contrast to urban nightscapes, students in (especially) London also spent their leisure time in urban parks.

5.3.3. Urban nature

Figure 23: Football match in Regent's Park

> ... This is basically the UCL LLM football team. So, every Sunday we, like, meet up and play in Regent's Park. This was the first time we had played and [...]two of us are Indians and each one of us is from a different country ... –Anthony (London, 22nd August, 2009)

Going to Regent's Park for a football match with his friends every Sunday was a part of Anthony's weekly routine. Kelley *et al* (2012) argue that practices and experiences of urban nature by youth challenge the conventional binary of nature/culture. The participants of the study, however, through their everyday practice of urban parks indicated that these spaces, like other urban public spaces, are essentially spaces of leisure (Johnson and Glover, 2013). Byrne and Wolch (2009) provide a conceptual model by incorporating understandings of public spaces by Leisure Studies researchers and Geographers. The model takes into account the historical-cultural context of park provision in order to theorize urban park use as a function of racial-ethnic

differentiation. This focus on the historical and cultural context does not apply to the Indian students' experiences of urban green spaces in general and urban parks more specifically since Indian students as international sojourners are mostly unaware of the history and politics behind the park use and development. Proximity, diversity, and social need are the three factors which determine the spatial distribution of public parks (Talen, 2010), and which in turn affect the ways in which they are experienced. In case of Indian students, the 'potential users' component (Byrne and Wolch, 2009: 751) is more useful because it focuses on variables such as residential location (Fincher and Shaw, 2011), mobility (Skelton, 2013) and leisure preferences, among others. In London, the location of the students and their im/mobilities within the city situated their use of urban parks. Anthony, who lived in Camden found Regent's Park to be the most accessible for his Sunday football matches. In addition to the visual narrative of the football match, Anthony brings to our attention the mixed nature of his friendship network, which comprised of people from different countries. So, apart from mobility and location of the students in the city, friendship networks also play a very crucial role in the spatial practices of urban parks.

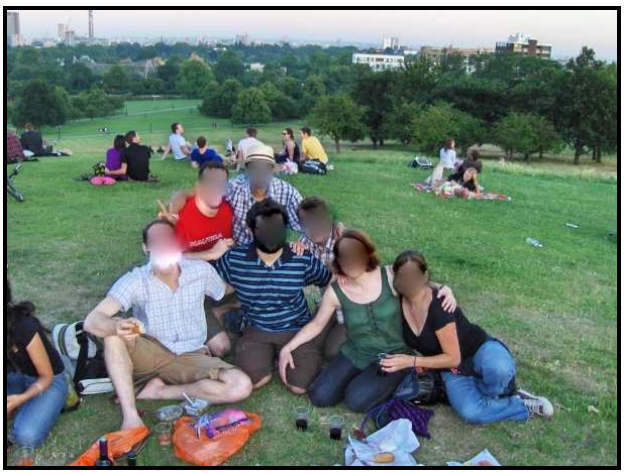

Figure 24: Picnic in Primrose Hill

> ... We do hang out together, like lunch, dinner, drink, but for the first time we went out for a picnic. This is Primrose Hill. In fact it was me, then Y, he's from Poland and S (pointing them out in the photograph)—we organized this picnic, as in we had sent out this facebook event and there were a lot of people who had come. There's a few of them that you can see ... – Vivek (London, 24th July, 2009)

Vivek had organized the picnic with his other international friends, all of whom lived in student residences. The event was organized as a farewell party before everyone returned to their respective countries after their dissertations were submitted. Indranil had shared a similar photograph of a picnic in Hyde Park and Vidya had shared a photograph of a picnic in Hampstead Heath. Needless to say, these outdoor picnics took place in the summer. So, apart from friendship networks, the other most significant factor in determining the use of public spaces was the weather (Byrne and Wolch, 2009)[58].

Figure 25: Kayaking down Humber river

> ... We, as a club organized this event. It was a social networking kind of an event and some adventure along with that. This was fun. – Praveen (Toronto, 29th January, 2010)

Praveen's photograph was taken from his kayak and showed other friends in theirs. His animated description of the day's happenings showed how he had enjoyed his time

[58] The sensory and emotional qualities of weather have been discussed in 5.2.1.

with his classmates. The event was organized by the student-led GBC (see List of Abbreviations). Although the Humber River is not an urban park space, it is nonetheless a way in which 'nature' (Kelley *et al*, 2012) in an urban setting is experienced. Kayaking is also an active form of leisure as compared to a picnic which is passive (Peters *et al*, 2010); and is an example of how the weather is an "ambient characteristic" (Byrne & Wolch, 2009: 751) affecting the use of urban nature. Although in the context of promoting inter-ethnic relations, Peters *et al*'s (2010) study is useful in understanding how urban green spaces may foster social cohesion, which Tarun called 'social networking'. Similarly, Rohan had shared a photograph of a day on the beaches of Toronto islands on a summer day with friends. While Tarun's example points towards the role of the university in fostering positive and friendly interactions between domestic and international students (Brown, 2009) through leisure activities, Rohan's experience indicates the role of personal choice in socializing and exploring new places. Personal choice contributes to the way in which students experience place and this adds to their 'international experience' (Waters, 2011). Some students sought out new and unique experiences such as visiting urban markets in London and participating in urban festivals in Toronto as part of this 'international experience'.

All the above examples of the relationship between the youth and their use of public spaces (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009) are based on the premise that familiarity brings about place attachment (Peters *et al*, 2010) or urban belonging (Antonsich, 2010). Although urban parks have been represented in a negative light (Byrne and Wolch, 2009), and therefore, perceptions of safety and gender are important aspects of park use (Koskela, 1999), it did not seem apparent in the students' spatialities. This also supports Pain's (2001) argument about the lack of fear of public space resulting in a sense of comfort and belonging. Spaces are infused with different

meanings depending on their spatial practices. While social networks play an important role in the ways in which a city is experienced, students also engage with urban spaces on their own. Such solitary engagements with urban spaces form the crux of the next section.

5.4. Urban solitary engagements

> ... I'm pretty happy with the city in general [...] like if I am out drinking or something like that, I feel perfectly fine taking a nap on a bench somewhere. There was a time when I was homeless for a short while between [the time I finished my Masters] and before I got into the PhD programme and I used to sleep at XX Park [...] where all the druggies go and I just felt safe there, because it was like 'If this is where those people go, then it means that all of those other people are not going to come here' and I never had a bad experience there. [...] That was a time when I felt most at home with the city. – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

As an international student, Sahil faced difficulties in finding a place to live. Having arrived in the city as an undergraduate student, he lived in campus residences for the first few years. But he felt that living on campus was not the same as living in the city, and gradually weaned himself off the sense of security that living on campus provides for international students. Even when he moved downtown, near the U of T campus, finding a place was a difficult endeavour due to his international student status. Post 9/11 landlords were sceptical to rent out to students and especially someone like Sahil, whose funding had run out. So, there came a time when he did not have a place to live. He spent a few months sleeping on friends' couches. But after a while, he felt uncomfortable doing so. Needless to say, it was an exceedingly difficult time for Sahil. He found himself a home on a bench of a supposedly dangerous public park in the city. His sense of safety within this space was remarked upon in the relative sense, a place where 'those other people' would not venture. He could have been alluding to criminals or racists (since he had narrated a racist attack earlier in the interview). This

incident, albeit unique, destabilizes the idea of safe/unsafe while throwing light on the idea of home/not home in the city. It also exposes the vulnerability of international students and calls for better pastoral care (Sawir *et al*, 2009) and responsibility (Madge *et al*, 2009), not only in the classroom (Gu *et al*, 2010) but also outside (Nyland *et al*, 2010).

This example also sets the stage for the discussion about students' varied emotional experiences of urban public spaces alone. The starting point of Kobayashi *et al*'s (2011) paper is to think of affect not as a "preconscious capacity, but as an ongoing contextual capacity that is simultaneously the product and producer of actively engaged human experiences" (2011: 884). This view of affect resonates in the urban spatialities of students in London and Toronto. Like Hong Kong immigrants of Kobayashi *et al*'s (2011) study, students in the two cities situate themselves by 'redefining place' and making connections through the contextual quality of affect (Thrift, 2004). Just as emotions give meaning to places, so do places invoke emotional responses (Kobayashi *et al*, 2011). This two-way approach of understanding the relationship between people and places is related to individual feelings of belonging. Collins (2012) emphasized the importance of co-national friendship networks in building a sense of belonging in a new environment. My study revealed that a parallel mode of engagement with urban public places exists, and this is carried out when students venture out alone. Broadly speaking, the kind(s) of spaces individuals frequent depends on personal identity (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009) and also on the impact that urban design has on people's behaviour (Shaftoe, 2008). The relationship between students' urban spatialities and friendship networks has been discussed so far. This section of the chapter explores the feeling of home/not home through students' solitary engagements

with urban spaces. Such solitary peripatetic journeys are replete with positive and negative experiences, which affect the feelings of home/not home in the city.

5.4.1. Spaces of comfort/discomfort

> ... I went to East Ham, and I have been to Ealing and I absolutely detested it. Because it was culture thrown at you from every angle and you are supposed to absorb it in some way [...] [in] both those places [...] you will be like, 'I don't want to belong to this. I am not this.' It happened quite badly in places that oddly you would feel at home because it's so familiar and you had been a part of that [...] but I felt like running away. [...] There were people talking to you in the same language, people dressing up in the same way and you were supposed to somehow understand and conform, accept it and be a part of it. [...] I remember I came out of the tube on Tottenham Court Road and I was like, 'We are back, we are back. Now we are happy.' This is London for us, not that. – Lakshmi (London, 10th June and 24th June, 2009)

Lakshmi's discomfort in the South Asian space of Ealing did not pertain to the fear of crime (Pain, 2001) or bodily harm (Pain and Koskela, 2000). It was the discomfort associated with unfamiliarity and alienation; of being out-of-place (Cresswell, 1996). However, in this case the 'other' place is a place of familiar (South Asian) culture. This positions Lakshmi in opposition to diasporic South Asians in Toronto who find the ethnic neighbourhood of Gerrard Street to be like home (Ashutosh, 2012). Ghosh's (2013) paper is a critical take on the topic of ethnic identities and she claims that the category of 'South Asian' is a social construction with very little or no connection with immigrants' self-identification. Focussing on the differences in migration trajectories of people belonging to different nationalities of South Asia, Ghosh (2013) questions the existence of the category 'South Asian'. The participants of her study claimed that they did not and could not associate with places such as Little India, Little Pakistan or Little Bangladesh in Toronto because those places "did not necessarily conjure a positive image" (Ghosh, 2013: 47). Instead, they were viewed as commercial spaces. This

resonated in the way that students viewed Gerrard Street as more of an "ethnic retail district" (Ritchie and Bauder, 2011: 3) While Khushi went there to buy an idol of a Hindu God before Diwali, Josh and Prasanna went there for Indian food. Indian students had mixed feelings about the 'authenticity' of these spaces, making it a 'contested landscape' (Chang, 2000) of power between insiders and outsiders. Monica and Rohan were sceptical and thought that it did not resemble the culture of Indian cities in any way. In contrast to Lakshmi's feeling of discomfort in South Asian spaces in the city, when asked about places in the city where she felt comfortable, Nayantara said:

> [...] when I go to Gerrard [Street] I will see the labels in Hindi or I see *golgappas*[59]. It's about experiencing a mini India. (Nayantara, Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

In Brick Lane and Whitechapel (areas of London where there is a predominantly South Asian population), Richa and Pooja felt threatened, while Narayanan stated that he could not relate this area to be a part of London. The women's fear of crime or bodily harm was predicated upon similar experiences in Indian cities (Paul, 2012), while Narayanan's perception of London relates to that of a global city (Datta, 2011). Polish immigrants of Datta's (2011) research had similar expectations of London. As a global city, they had a pre-conceived notion of the city as popularly represented in the media. But the areas of London where they lived did not match these representations. The links between anonymity and safety are exposed in these encounters, a strategy that Butcher (2010) explains in the context of the urban youth in New Delhi. However, the role of gender in 'geographies of fear' (Pain, 2001) was problematized when Anirban and Anthony discussed similar experiences. Stepping out into the city alone means

[59] It is the name of a sweet, spicy, sour, and savoury Indian street food. It's called *golgappa* in Delhi, *pani puri* in Mumbai, and *fuchka* in Kolkata.

exposing oneself to different experiences related to personal safety (Marginson *et al*, 2010), discrimination and racism (Brown and Jones, 2012). As Anthony said,

> ... actually, anywhere in Camden after about 11 [I don't feel safe] [...] the other night my friend and I [...] were at the Sainsbury's cash machine withdrawing some money and then suddenly there were two guys [...] It's not like I was alone and when I turned there were these two guys [...] behind me and they were like 'hand over what you took out from the cash machine or else we will do something real bad'. I didn't know how to react and I was like 'no, I am not', and then my friend kind of came closer towards me [from where he was standing at a distance], so they realized that there were two of us and then they kind of backed off and they were like 'we were just joking, it's all a joke'. But it was quite scary. I have never experienced anything like this and I realized that there is a bad side to where I live and I have to be more vigilant and careful next time ... – Anthony (London, 22nd August, 2009)

The potential for personal robbery had unnerved Anthony not only because of the obvious danger that he was in, but also because it was in the area where his residence was. He realized that although he loved and generally felt comfortable in that part of London, he was approached by the men because they thought he was alone. Such incidents could be potentially inhibiting and can alienate students from exploring different urban spaces. Indranil mentioned an incident where he had felt threatened by the presence of a group of 'chavs' (Nayak, 2005). He mentioned that he had been scared because of his position as an international student. He feared that getting involved in violent or criminal encounters would get him deported. He had also added:

> Indranil: [...] when you grow up at a particular place, you tend to know the underbelly. You tend to know how to behave just to get out of it [...]
>
> Subhadra: So, do you think things will be different if you stayed here for a few more years?
>
> Indranil: [...] Yeah, because then, I am quite sure I will know people who can get me out of such sticky mess [...]
>
> (London, 20th May, 2009)

Familiarity with the urban environment is therefore, intrinsically related to safety. Valentine notes that "people are uncomfortable with the unknown and so feel anxious about encounters with difference" (2008: 323-24). Indranil mentioned that although having the support of a strong friendship/social network went a long way in feeling at home; certain spaces in the city were to be avoided at all costs. In Toronto, Madan's experience exposed his vulnerable position as an international student in an incident when he was accosted by a policeman and was asked to show his passport.

> ... Then he asked for my passport. Luckily, I was carrying my passport because the previous night I had been to a club and that's the only [recognized] official ID in some of the clubs. He took down my passport number and I think he did some background checking and all. So I asked him, 'am I in any kind of trouble?' and he said, 'You could have [...] next time just follow the routes.' It could have been a bad event, but thankfully it didn't. Maybe that happened because that was the first time I was travelling alone. Every other time, I have always been in a group. – Madan (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

When Madan took the subway and a connecting bus, he had come out of the station and gone back in after realizing his mistake. For this, he was approached by the police officer and when he admitted his mistake and clarified his position by producing the valid subway ticket, he was asked to show his passport. This treatment seems a bit harsh considering that it was a simple mistake. Besides, it cannot be expected that people carry their passport at all times and to demand one seems odd. It can be interpreted as harassment and bordering on racism. International students' experience with racism has been discussed by Brown and Jones (2012) and the importance of their security (Sawir *et al*, 2009) is an important issue that has recently caught the attention of scholars. However, Madan did not interpret it as such. Instead, he reasoned that the incident occurred because he was travelling alone, indicating his feeling safe in a crowd.

Sahil was the only person who reported being a victim of racist attacks wherein he was physically threatened once, and at another time, he was asked to 'leave the neighbourhood' (Interview, 23rd December, 2009 and 21st January, 2010). Such experiences of overt and covert racism (Brown and Jones, 2012) create a sense of non-belonging among the students. Their identities and personal safety are threatened, which makes them vulnerable and alienates them from the host society. Sahil is a case in point. He maintained that Delhi would always be home for him because he felt 'visible' in Toronto whereas his capacity to blend into the urban landscape of Delhi was more comforting (Interview, 23rd December, 2009). Kiran, on the other hand, mentioned feeling 'unsafe' while visiting an old relative in a part of town where there were many homeless people on the streets (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009). Modly (2009) studied students' fear of such spaces where 'people without a purpose' loitered.

Apart from the fear of crime, some spaces are imbued with negative preconceptions and in some cases, experiences. Questions of outsider/insider are brought to the fore where Indians feel like outsiders in South Asian spaces, and the British are considered insiders. The social geographies of fear are not gendered in case of Indian students as both men and women experienced fear and discomfort in these places. Situating oneself within these ethnic/cultural spaces seemed to challenge the Indian students' identities and questioned ideas of Indian-ness or perceived Indian-ness.

Since the city is a conglomeration of sensory, emotional, and lived experiences (Landry, 2006), both negative and positive feelings need to be brought within the fold of discussion in order to provide a holistic understanding of home/not home in the city.

5.4.2. Spaces of solace and solitude

Figure 26: St. George's gardens

> [...] it is a time-stopped kind of a place. I like that the whole atmosphere where you have to pause like something that's waiting to change. People have their picnic there and lunch there, so there's life and there's also death. So it's a juxtaposition of both [...] – Vidya (London, 21st July, 2009)

Vidya (like Anuradha) chose to walk through the cemetery everyday on her way to the university. Vidya had shared a series of photographs of the cemetery which also included a bench where she occasionally sat down. The quietude of the place gave her the solitude she needed sometimes. She liked the place because it reflected the simultaneity of life and death (Johnson, 2008). Monica in Toronto loved taking walks in a city cemetery because of the serenity of the place. These spaces resonate with the possibilities of exploring 'geographies of stillness' (Cresswell, 2010), for it is a space of reflection, of pause. Students sought out such spaces of solitude (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009) in London as a way to escape from the everyday monotonous routine of shuttling between "uni, home, uni, home" (Soroshi, 9th July, 2009). London provided many such spaces wherein they could seek some quiet. These ranged from sitting on a bench in the park, watching the sunset from a bridge (Fig. 28) or even in a pub (Fig.

29). Nisha had found a quiet spot on the Thames (Fig. 27) where she went when she wanted to be alone (London, 15th July, 2009).

Figure 27: "Bankside—favourite sitting spot"

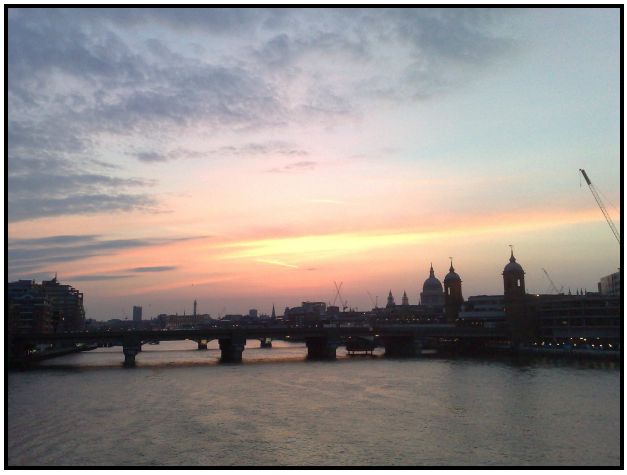

Figure 28: Watching the sunset from Tower Bridge

Figure 29: "My favourite place in London"

The dichotomy between public and private is explored by Johnson and Glover (2013) who emphasize that meanings are attributed to spaces by people who use them. Some privately owned places can be experienced as public spaces (Fig. 30).

Figure 30: Vidya and Anuradha's favourite coffee shop

Both Anuradha and Vidya spoke quite animatedly about a coffee shop that they loved. Vidya had stumbled upon the place on one of her walks in the city. She loved spending time in Tinderbox, the coffee shop where she could spend all day reading and working on her dissertation. Anuradha loved the place for a different reason. She loved it because there was a variety of seating arrangements in the place and different kinds of people came there during different times of the day.

Another place that Nisha loved spending time on her own was Hyde Park. She shared a photograph of her sitting on a bench feeding some pigeons (Fig. 31). Nisha explained that the reason she had chosen that photograph was because she was enthralled by the pigeons of London. She felt that the birds were an important part of her experience in London because of their peculiarly friendly nature, unlike those that she had seen in Mumbai. Nisha was from Mumbai, where there were a number of pigeons near the Gateway of India, one of the historical landmarks of the city. So, it was not surprising to see her make the connection between the pigeons of London and those in Mumbai.

Figure 31: Feeding the pigeons in Hyde Park

> ... one thing which I will never forget once I go back to India and I'll tell everyone, [is] how fearless they are and how stupid they are that they keep walking in front of you. That's why I chose this picture. They actually came and ate from my hand, which doesn't happen in India and if you are running after them, they will not fly. They will run in a zigzag way. That and yeah, parks are a nice getaway specially during summers [...] – Nisha (London, 22nd July, 2009)

Gautam echoed Nisha's idea about pigeons being an integral part of London (London, 1st September, 2009). Like Nisha, Indranil too had a favourite bench in Hyde Park which he went to when he wanted to be alone (London, 20th May, 2009). Monica

mentioned walking in High Park and finding the place to be surprising because there was so much greenery in the middle of the city (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009) and Nayantara had compared High Park of Toronto to New York's Central Park (Nayantara, Toronto, 22nd December, 2009). Students seemed to seek out places where they could be alone. The variety of places that students frequent in order to 'bask in solitude' (Solnit, 2002: 186) indicates the multi-layered nature of places (Kelley *et al*, 2012), e.g. urban parks which are a space of socialization among friends are also practised as "private places of withdrawal" (Abbott-Chapman and Robertson, 2009). Talen (2010) points out that proximity, diversity, and social need are the three most important aspects of the geographical distribution of urban parks, which affect their use. Needless to say, students who frequented them lived closer to them. As Abbott-Chapman and Robertson (2009) contend, having the freedom to explore spaces outdoors contributed to adolescents' sense of belonging. Although the students of my study were not adolescents, like Abbott-Chapman and Robertson's (2009) group, they also seek 'new' experiences in 'new places', while taking refuge in the familiar.

Figure 32: Teresa's "security blanket"

> ... [the church is] like another security blanket. I really like this church. It's given a lot for me, and the Parish priest really helped me a lot. [...] and a good way to start my life here ... – Teresa (London, 22nd August, 2009)

Waters (2003) discusses the significance of churches as religious sites which help immigrants in Vancouver to connect with a familiar social scenario. They facilitate the process of making home in an unfamiliar city (Ley, 2008). Similarly, mosques initiate community-building practices (Hopkins, 2006). Teresa demonstrated the significance of the church in her everyday life. She had stumbled upon an Anglican church when she had first arrived in London. Although she was Catholic, she continued attending this church out of a sense of loyalty as it had given her solace ("security blanket") when she needed it the most. Monica was a Syrian Christian from Kerala whose hometown was Kolkata. She belonged to a sect of Syrian Christians called Mar tho Ma. Although there were two Mar tho Ma Churches in Toronto, she went to the Anglican Church just two houses down the road because it was convenient (Toronto, 11th December, 2009). Similarly, Anthony had found it difficult to find a Catholic church as there were many protestant churches in the area. But once he did, he made sure to attend church every Sunday (London, 27th July, 2009). However, there was a marked difference in the ways in which these religious places were experienced by the students. Indian students in London and Toronto did not seem interested in community-building (Hopkins, 2006) or re-extending their families (Sharma, 2012), which is the dominant trope regarding the significance of religious institutions in the context of migration. The students' experiences were similar to Tse's (2011) study of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver who found St. Matthews Church to be home away from home.

Temples, on the other hand, appeared to be familiar places which some of the Hindu students frequented occasionally. Every Hindu student agreed that their religion was practised within the private realm of the dwelling and going to the temple was not an

important part of their everyday life, even in India. Hindu students in London visited some of the temples in the vicinity of their residences. Narayanan was a Tamil Hindu Brahmin who practised the religion through daily rituals of prayer and worship in his room. He woke up early to make time for prayer before going to the university (London, 20th June, 2009). He also prayed in the evenings in front of his *mandir* in his room (See Chapter Seven for details). Apart from his daily rituals, he also regularly visited the temple in East Ham. East Ham in east London has a significant Tamil presence which is reflected in the social-cultural importance of the Shri Murugan Temple (David, 2012). David (2012) focussing on public processions initiated by the organizers and priests of the temple remarked on the appropriation of place through visual and aural performativity. These sounds and sights inside the temple are what transported Lakshmi back to India (Interview, 24th June, 2009). Anjali mentioned that she was a Punjabi Hindu. In her case, her regional identity of being a Punjabi took precedence over her religious identity because she had stated that although she was a Hindu, she had always been to gurdwaras (London, 30th June, 2009). In London, she went to the gurdwara in Southall from time to time which is the biggest one outside India (Singh, 2006). In Toronto Shruti mentioned going to the nearby gurdwara to have the food at the *langar* (Interview, 28th January, 2010). *Langar* is a Sikh practice of community-eating and although Shruti is not a Sikh, she still participated in this practice, which indicates how religion can metamorphose into a cultural practice when it transcends national borders.

For Vivek, the distance to the Jain temple from his residence near central London was a major deterrent for him to visit the temple as often as he would have liked. The suburban location of the temple (Dwyer *et al*, 2013) is indicative of the population that the temple caters to, i.e. the diasporic Indian community living mainly in the outer

suburbs of the city. It is noteworthy that Hindu students, unlike their Christian counterparts did not view temples as places which ease their stay in an unfamiliar city by being associated with a community (Brown and Talbot, 2006). Instead, students who visited temples occasionally did so, to be in a familiar social space (Nesbitt, 2006). The location of the students in the city and urban form (availability and access to public spaces) are factors which contribute to the daily im/mobilities of the students, which in turn affect the feeling of home/not home in the city.

Urban form is an important factor shaping the everyday spatialities of Indian students, but it is most significant in the ways in which students engage with urban spaces on their own. The above discussion makes an important contribution to the already rich and expanding literature on international students and their urban experiences. While these affectual spaces are significant in the lives of the students, there are other spaces which they encounter and experience while on the move, especially on foot. Urban walking, therefore, is an important spatial practice through which feelings of belonging are generated.

Conclusions

Everyday im/mobilities vary within and between London and Toronto. Location of the students' residences and other aspects of urban form such as accessibility are also of immense importance in creating urban sociality. The 'youthful geographies' of Indian students during their sojourn in an unfamiliar city is illustrated in the range of everyday spatialities. Additionally, Indian students in London demonstrated a greater propensity to explore different urban spaces on their own. Although gender was an important variable affecting the experiences, it did not appear to affect the use of public spaces as such. It was in the ordinary experiences of city spaces that Indian students created a

sense of home/not home. The multi-layered approach in meaning-making and place-making emphasizes the embodied, affective, emotional and sensory aspects of urban life as experienced by Indian students. Feeling at home/not home in the city, therefore, not only depends upon social and sensory dis/connections with other cities which underline the importance of an originary home but also the presence of friendship/social networks; and urban qualities make allowances for the students to venture out on their own. A combination of the two factors is significant in place attachment and urban belonging.

The next chapter explores place-making in university. Since the university is a very important part of the everyday life of international students, ideas of home/not home will be discussed within the different aspects of university spaces.

CHAPTER SIX

Spaces of learning and living: University and dis/connections with home

Introduction

Figure 33: View of Kiran's department from her apartment window

> ... Well, the view as you can see is very nice and the grey building that you see is actually my department. So early morning I can see it and actually I can see some people walking around in the early morning. It's a sense of being connected but at the same time being distant in some ways because it's not like you can shove your hand out of the window and wave at somebody. – Kiran (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009)

The window is a structural interface between the inside of a dwelling and the world outside. It is used as a tool to understand the emotional qualities that a room imparts on the everyday experience of the students within the dwelling space. In this chapter, the window is a starting point for the discussion on the connections/disconnections between ideas of home and the spaces of the university. So, the window of Kiran's apartment situates her accommodation within its surroundings, i.e. the university.

Kiran's apartment window overlooks the Ross Building of YU. The Ross Building situated at the entrance houses a number of departments, including Kiran's. Kiran lived in one of the postgraduate residences of the university. In the above quotation, Kiran described the presence of the "grey building" in the centre of her line of vision as a constant reminder of her location in the campus. The view from Kiran's window illustrates the dual function of the university as simultaneously an academic space and a residential space. Although she had lived on campus from the beginning, her description of being 'connected and at the same time distant' demonstrated that her sense of belonging/not belonging in the space of the university was working simultaneously. While on the one hand, she liked the view of the building and the green spaces; on the other, she felt distanced from the people on the streets because she could not actively interact with them (by waving at them) due to the wire mesh. Kiran's example complicates the idea of feeling at home/not at home (Ahmed *et al*, 2003), while problematizing the simplified relationship of the insider/outsider with living on or off campus (Holdsworth, 2009).

The focus of this chapter is to understand the experiences of (the academic and non-academic spaces of) the university as home/not home, and to explore how Indian students negotiate these spaces in order to make themselves at home. The main theme of this chapter is to understand the relationship between the feeling of home/not home in the spaces of the university. Feeling at home/not at home is a continuous process of transformation and adjustment that international students undergo (Gill, 2007) and which is related to intercultural contact within formal and informal spaces of learning (Volet and Ang, 2012). Such in-classroom and out-of-classroom experiences shape the way Indian students feel about their surroundings, and specifically, the university. Since the university is the reason for student migration, it remains the most important

(academic and social) space for the Indian students. The degree of interaction with these spaces is greatly affected by the distance of the residences from the universities, as will be illustrated throughout the chapter.

This chapter explores the relationship between feelings of home/not home and embodiment of identities of Indian students in academic and non-academic spaces of the university. It is contended that the multi-layered, contested, and contradictory nature of this relationship had intrinsic interconnections with postcoloniality because they are embedded within spaces of encounters with difference. Difference in this case is broadened out to include social and cultural differences in the context of learning. Learning is understood as 'intercultural learning' which is a dual process of encountering two or more different cultures and the learning that is achieved as a result of such encounters (Gill, 2007), and which also includes experiential learning. This conceptual understanding of learning is not limited to the classroom, and in turn positions Indian students in a foreign university.

The main argument of this chapter is that feeling at home/not at home in the university depends upon physical aspects (such as location of the residence and spatial configurations of the university spaces) and different articulations of home. Home is conceptualized here in terms of familiarity and comfort, which also indicates the processual, dynamic and simultaneity of the idea of 'home'. Identities of Indian students are played out in dynamic ways within different spaces of the university because the university is the 'contact zone' (Kenway and Bullen, 2003) where Indian students, like other international students, encounter their 'host' culture. As a result, Indian students 'become' international students (Koehne, 2006; Haugh, 2008) by scrutinising their positions of self/other (Kim, 2011) as imbricated with the power binary of domestic/international (Fincher and Shaw, 2011). Such intercultural contact

results in transformative learning experience through intercultural learning (Gill, 2007; Volet and Ang, 2012) while bringing to the fore, identities such as 'cosmopolitan' (Sidhu and Dall'Alba, 2011; Fincher, 2011) or 'global citizen' (Matthews and Sidhu, 2005). Friendship networks (Bunnell *at al*, 2011) with other international students, domestic students and co-nationals (Brown, 2009) also play a significant role in creating multicultural student experience (Montgomery, 2010) in the university student halls (Bochner *et al*, 1985, Thomsen, 2007) and in university campuses (Campbell, 2011; Hendrickson *et al*, 2011; Montgomery and McDowell, 2009). A two-way relationship exists between the 'learning spaces' (Oblinger, 2006) and the experience of learning in higher education (van Heur, 2010). The interplay between spaces and experiences of learning in these spaces (Temple, 2008) indicates that the learning experiences for international students are not confined to the classroom or other such formal academic spaces, thereby including the social aspect of learning (Jessop *et al*, 2012). In fact, Shushok *et al* (2011) suggest that the place of residence contributes to the learning experience more significantly and terms this 'residential learning' (Shushok *et al*, 2011). Since the everyday lives of international students centre upon the campus (Shipton, 2005), the location and distance of their residences from the university affect the way they experience academic and non-academic spaces of the university.

For the purpose of this chapter, I have categorized the types of student residences into the following: university residence on campus, university residence away from the campus, and private housing. This will further our understanding of the relationship between feelings of home/not home, and the space of the university. The connections between identities and home in the space(s) of the university link the wider argument that Indian students use the ideas of home as a tool to understand, negotiate, and make themselves at home in their current locations by navigating through social and cultural

'routes' in a foreign university. I begin by contextualizing the universities and campuses where the participants were studying in the two cities.

6.1. Contextualizing universities and campuses in London and Toronto

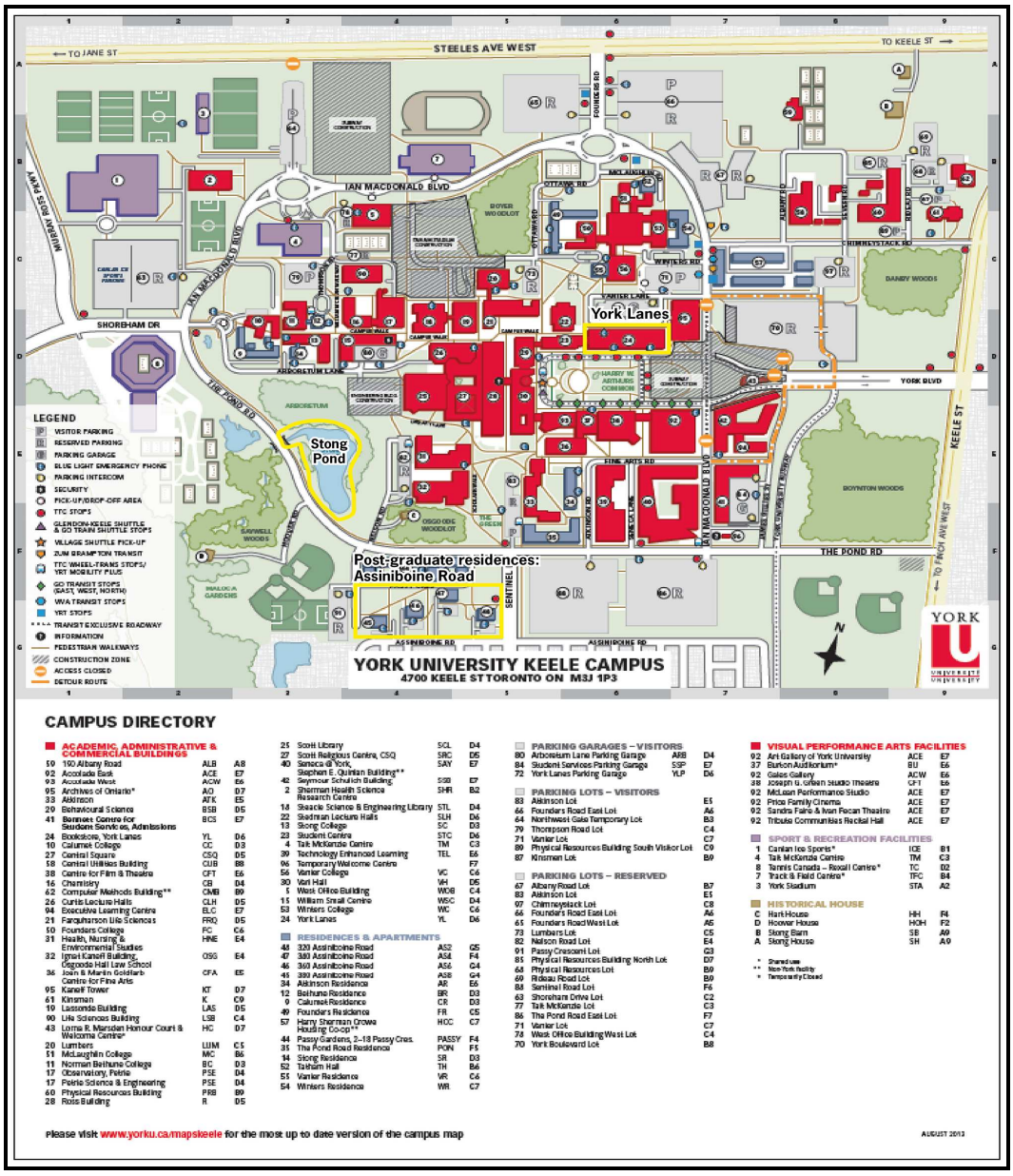

Figure 34: York University campus map[60]

The important spaces of the YU campus which will be discussed in the chapter have been marked in yellow lines. The rectangular box at the bottom of the map designates

[60] [60] http://www.yorku.ca/web/maps/ (Last access: 29th June, 2014)

the Assiniboine graduate residences; York Lanes (discussed in Section 6.4.) is in the centre of the map and the Stong Pond (see Section 6.4.) in the bottom left hand corner.

Universities in London and Toronto where the participants were enrolled were far from homogenous. So, the 'routes' that the Indian students had to take were different in different locations. In Toronto, five out of sixteen students were from the University of Toronto[61], and the rest were from YU. The U of T is an open campus located near downtown Toronto, while YU is a residential campus located in the northern-most part of the city, near the suburb of Vaughn. Among the five students of U of T, there was residential diversity. While Monica lived in university co-operative housing, Josh lived in a university shared apartment with shared kitchen facility. Of the remaining three students who lived in private rented accommodations; Nayantara and Raj shared with their respective flatmates, while Saurav lived alone in a one-bedroom apartment[62]. Among the eleven participants from YU, nine of them lived on-campus[63] and two of them lived off campus[64]. All the students living on campus lived in one of the four postgraduate residence buildings. Lived experience in these graduate residences was quite individualized, with minimum or complete lack of interaction between neighbours.

[61] Henceforth U of T
[62] When asked about the reason behind this, Saurav had responded by saying that he liked to live in spacious apartments.
[63] The nine students were Amitav, Anirban, Gitanjali, Kiran, Praveen, Prasanna, Rohan, Shruti, and Tarun.
[64] Khushi and Sahil lived near downtown Toronto.

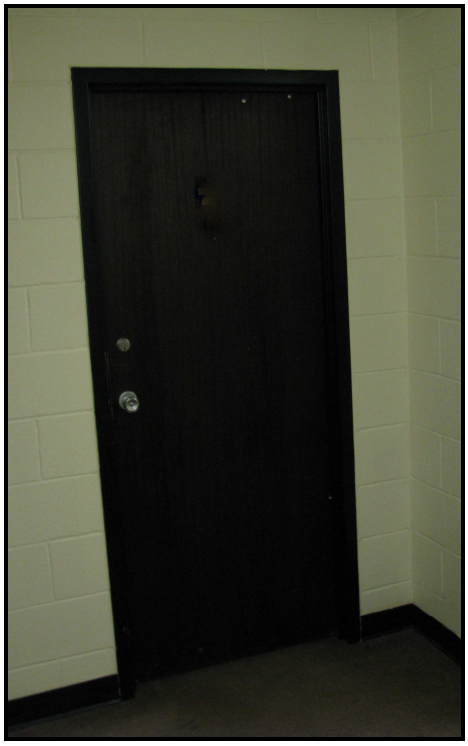

Figure 35: Door to Kiran's apartment in the YU graduate residence

> ... This is my apartment door, the entrance. I took this picture because I wanted to show how anonymous your existence can be in this society. Because generally in India you would have a name plate, or some kind of a wall hanging or something. But over here, there is sense of security in being anonymous. You don't know your neighbours, nobody knows you, who's living inside you don't know. All you know is a number out there[65]. – Kiran (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009)

This photograph accompanied with the quotation is a poignant depiction of the life of graduate students living on YU campus and especially in the graduate residence buildings. To illustrate further, Kiran had described how, upon her arrival on the first day, after knocking on the wrong door (with the same number) and not getting any response she had realized that she was in the wrong building. This just went to show how every building and every door in every building was identical. Therefore, for students living in the graduate residences, the classroom was the main site of intercultural exchange. Although this did not mean that their apartments were not used

[65] The number on the door has been blurred to keep her identity anonymous.

as meeting places for informal gatherings of friends from their department or class, such instances were less frequent for students in Toronto, than for their London counterparts (See Chapter Seven).

In London, the universities and colleges of the University of London are scattered in different parts of the city. The University of London has over 170,000 students in 2014[66]. In London, six students lived in private housing, while fourteen out of a total of twenty students interviewed, lived in university residences whether on campus or at a distance from it. Since Queen Mary[67] is the only college of the University of London[68] that has a well-demarcated urban campus area, students living in QMUL residences have been categorized as living on campus. As Table 14 shows, three students lived on QMUL campus. Other colleges of the University of London such as LSE, SOAS, UCL, and Imperial College (formerly part of the University of London) have student residences away from the campus at a distance of approximately thirty minutes (and more) walking distance[69]. Like the other University of London colleges, QMUL too has a postgraduate student residence (Stocks Court) at a ten-minute walking distance from the Mile End campus[70].

The map of QMUL Mile End campus (Fig. 36) shows the student residences of the participants demarcated by red boxes. The Stocks Court residence is marked with an arrow to the west (see bottom left hand corner of Fig, 36). The map helps situate the students within the space of the university.

[66] http://www.london.ac.uk/2595.html (Last access: 22nd June, 2014)
[67] Henceforth QMUL
[68] Although Royal Holloway also has a (non-urban) campus space, I did not have any participants from this college. So, within the purview of the colleges of my participants, QMUL was the only one with a campus.
[69] A total of ten students lived in such residences which were at a distance from the universities.
[70] One student lived in this residence building called Stocks Court.

Figure 36: QMUL campus map[71]

Since academic spaces such as classrooms are considered a formal institutional space (Coles & Swami, 2012), issues of power/knowledge are more central to the discussion of this kind of space. Other academic spaces such as the library, laboratory, and the postgraduate student office are more complicated and postcolonial geographies will help unearth the socio-spatial relationships in these spaces. Simultaneously, university

[71] http://www.qmul.ac.uk/docs/about/26065.pdf (Last access: 29th June, 2014)

spaces are also lived spaces for students who live on campus. The differences and similarities in the experiences of Indian students and their interrelations with the location of the student residences bring into focus not only the importance of space in social experiences but also in the embodiment of Indian students' identities.

Intercultural contact is an important part of an international experience (Kimmel and Volet, 2012) and this is directly related to the social aspect of learning. However, students living in university residences could avail themselves of this opportunity more than those who live in private housing. Students who lived in private residences could choose their flatmates. Except Shruti, Nayantara, and Sahil, all other students sharing their accommodation with flatmates (or with their husband, as in Khushi's case), did so with other Indian students. Living in a university residence in London however, meant that the students did not get to choose their flatmates and found themselves sharing common areas such as the kitchen and sometimes the bathroom with other international and/or domestic students. YU had a more democratic system wherein the students had to find their own flatmates if they wanted to share the space, thereby resembling a private housing situation. This resulted in students sharing their apartments with co-national friends except Kiran, Amitav, and Rohan, who preferred to live alone. Needless to say, university residences which placed students of different nationalities together in a flat encouraged multicultural friendships.

These multiple layers of socio-spatial relationships within spaces of the university will be unearthed in three sections of this chapter. The first section discusses the dis/connections with university campuses in India, which link them to wider arguments about ideas of home and migration. It also helps situate the Indian student within the university in a foreign country, and illustrates its significance in their lives. The remaining two sections deal with ways in which academic spaces (such as the

classroom, library, laboratory, and postgraduate student office) and non-academic are experienced. More specifically, Section 6.3 focuses on the spatial practices of the students living in the university residences on campus. The relationship between residential location of the students and the different academic and non-academic spaces is not straight-forward and the complexities within these will be unearthed in the following sections.

6.2. University campus and dis/connections with home

The built environment or the physical space of the campus is the focus of this section. Here, I articulate the different ways that the campus was viewed as a lived space and educational space and how students made connections with their previous campus experiences in India. From the students' narratives of the campus, it was evident that it was seen as not only a site of education (and therefore entry points to the destination country) but also as the space where they would live (albeit temporarily) in the following months. Also, noteworthy was how the students made direct comparisons with their previous campuses in India. This relates to the campus space being viewed as a 'contact zone' between different cultures (Kenway and Bullen, 2003).

Compared with experiences of campuses in India, Khushi spoke about her pre-conceived ideas about the campus when she arrived at YU.

> Subhadra: What did you think of the campus?
>
> Khushi: Again, mixed feelings. My professor whom I was interacting with throughout while I was applying, he told me that York University is like JNU of Delhi. JNU is this radical university in Delhi. Jawaharlal Nehru University. So, I had that kind of a picture in mind. I have been to JNU. It's a nice, green, red bricks, very pretty campus [...] So, I had that kind of an impression in mind. And then I was talking to another girl and I was telling her that I have got through YU and she was like, 'oh, it's an ugly

> campus in the suburbs' and I said, 'Ok, it sounds a little contradictory but we'll see what it's like'. So, I came here and I guess I was just numb. It was more like convenience driven at that point in time [...] Yeah, so for me the campus was that I need to use the internet, I need to have the library, I need to do printing, coffee and some food. It's all accessible. So what else do I want? That's what I am here for, I am here to work and that's what I am getting. If I have to pub around, I should go and live downtown.
>
> Subhadra: and you didn't feel the necessity [to move downtown]?
>
> Khushi: No. And I still don't pub around even though I am living downtown. But in terms of productivity, I think I was more productive when I was here on campus. No distractions.
>
> (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

The fact that she felt "numb" indicated the shock of arrival (Brown and Holloway, 2008). She reminded herself that her primary aim was to acquire a doctoral degree. She convinced herself that all she needed for the purpose were infrastructural facilities like (adequate and relevant) books from the library, material from the internet, and relatively cheap printing. All these were easily available and accessible to her as a student living on campus. Apart from these, she also acknowledged the importance of other necessities for survival such as food, which were also available quite close to campus. So, living on campus was a matter of convenience above all else. This pertains to the different strategies that students employ to adjust to their environments in a new setting. Upon her arrival, she immersed herself in adjusting to the academic schedule. This left her with very little time to give much thought to her surroundings. Like other PhD students (e.g. Gitanjali), Khushi focused on the campus providing a conducive environment for her academic pursuits because it was removed from the hustle-bustle of the city life[72]. In this way, she referred to her primary reason for being in Canada.

[72] In Section 6.4.1., I discuss Khushi's observations of the campus as a social space, which is not necessarily in contradiction to this statement but does reflect the complexity of campus living.

While Khushi did not dwell on the campus morphology, Josh found the open campus of U of Toronto to be similar to the Delhi University[73] campus.

> ... My initial reaction was that it was very much like Delhi University, north campus because you have an open campus there also. There you have undergrads, here you have undergrads and [...] DU [...] is kind of in the city and this one is also in the city. DU is also small, this is also small. I found it very similar in terms of how it is spatially structured. – Josh (Toronto, 7th October, 2009)

For Josh, it was not the sociality or the convenience of the campus that attracted his attention. For him the campus was similar to the DU campus because it was similar in its spatial configuration, and both were located within the city. While students in Toronto compared their campuses to those in New Delhi, those in London made similar references to Indian campuses, but they expressed more admiration for their campus buildings in London. As Anthony put it:

> ... It [UCL] is a really grand university [sic] and I mean, it is quite an old university also. It was a big change from the university back home ... – Anthony (London, 27th July, 2009)

He continued the comparison with his college in Bengaluru with it lacking infrastructure and facilities for students. At UCL, he had been part of the cricket team and had travelled to a few towns in UK with his college team. He felt that these were opportunities that were not provided in his college in Bengaluru.

> Huge! That's the word that came to my mind because my university was not as big as this ... – Naryanan (London, 1st July, 2009)

Naryanan's exclamation at seeing QMUL and connecting it immediately to his university in India demonstrates how Indian students arrive at the university with pre-conceived idea(s) about universities. The first 'encounters' with the physical spaces of the university/campus is related to the notion of a 'western education' (Waters, 2006),

[73] Henceforth DU.

which "symbolizes the possession of more than just a credential, representing a whole host of cultural, embodied traits conducive to professional success in a global economic arena" (Waters, 2006: 181). Sometimes these ideas are questioned, and sometimes these ideas are re-inforced, as in the case of Anirban. He shared photographs of his college buildings, and focussed on the architecture and age of the college, equating it with its reputation as an institute of excellence.

Figure 37: Collage of Imperial College building facade[74]

> ... you can see the entrance of the building of Royal School of Mines. It is probably the most attractive entrance to the college. [In the adjoining photograph] you can see the architecture is quite old and it's from 1800s ... – Anirban (London, 17th July, 2009)

The pride that he displays is not only limited to being a student at the prestigious college but it also reminds him of his presence in London, studying at Imperial College, which set him apart from his friends back home in India. This also situates him as a 'global subject' (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005). Similarly, U of T's heritage was also something that Monica mentioned while sharing a photograph of the university building where her classes were held.

[74] I created the collage from a couple of photographs of the same building that Anirban had shared.

Figure 38: Law School of U of T

> ... This is school. It's Law School. This is one of the buildings of the two but I find this prettier, because it has ivy growing on it and it's so beautiful [...] It was Fall and it was gorgeous. [...] Out of the three classes, two were held here [...] So I just took a picture of it to send back home to everybody. Just to show everyone where I was studying because everybody wanted to know. – Monica (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009)

This photo not only has visual appeal to Monica, it also represented the place where she was studying at, for her family in India. The photograph had real meaning to her because she had attended classes there, and been part of the academic exercise of being at U of T. The structure of the building, the fall colours, everything added to the imaginative geographies of campuses and universities in the west (Beech, 2014). It was the novelty of difference that Monica wanted to demonstrate through this photograph. Being located within such difference in the physical structure of the building, with "ivy growing on it" was a reminder to her that she was in Canada.

Figure 39: Tarun posing in front of the YU signage

> ... This is on day one, when I came to Schulich and I was just moving around the campus and this is at the entrance of the campus. I was pretty excited to be here. So I got a photo next to the York University board. – Tarun (Toronto, 29th January, 2010)

The moment of arrival at the universities is a significant one for many Indian students. They were filled with a sense of adventure and an excitement about life as a student in a foreign country, as Tarun recounts his first day in the university. It also locates the Indian student within the space of the university which is the primary reason for their migration. Just like students compared and connected their universities and campuses back in India, they also made connections with academic experiences back home. Negotiating such feelings of home/not home within formal and informal spaces of learning in the university is the focus of the next section.

6.3. Home/not home in spaces of learning

The process of 'becoming' an international student is a complex one (Koehne, 2006) and involves layers of meaning-making and self re-evaluation in the context of learning spaces (Oblinger, 2006). The learning spaces constitute the formal and informal spaces in the university where the students encounter not only other cultures, but also their

own self. An international higher education degree is seen as an academic capital (Kim, 2011) wherein it is valued because it will help in their social and economic mobility upon their return to India. For Indian students, an international student experience reveals layers of their identity as a cosmopolitan in the learning context (Sidhu and Dall'Alba, 2011), as a postcolonial subject (Kim, 2011), and as an Indian student among other international students in terms of language proficiency (Sawir *et al*, 2012). They position themselves in the centre of all these discourses about international students and indicate that their identities are complex, complicated, contradictory, and contested and cannot be easily mapped on the higher education terrain. These layers of identities of Indian students are revealed in the different spaces of learning in the university.

Kenway and Bullen (2003) contend that the university is the 'contact zone' for international students. Using Pratt's (1992) concept as the theoretical framework Kenway and Bullen (2003) discuss how international students negotiate their identities of self/other in the spaces of the university. For Indian students, like other international students, the formal space(s) of learning is the primary site of encounters with difference. These differences range from social, cultural, embodied and identity-related aspects of multicultural and intercultural learning are played out primarily in the formal spaces of learning. In order to understand these multi-layered meanings of 'difference', I discuss the role of different spaces in the experiences of Indian students. The importance of the built environment in the area of higher education and research has been discussed by van Heur (2010) and this interplay will be elaborated upon through the idea of 'learning spaces' (Oblinger, 2006).

6.3.1. Formal spaces of learning

Figure 40: Multicultural classroom

> ... This [photo] is the one we took after the final presentation in a course called Skills for Leadership. We had [to undertake] this analytical, critical and strategic thinking [as part of the course]. [...] These guys are from India, she is from Canada, he's from Persia and he's also from Canada. It was a good mix actually. I prefer a mixed group. Even in this team, this guy had a different viewpoint altogether. He had 9 years of experience, so his ideas were very different, which we hadn't thought of ... – Prasanna (Toronto, 22nd January, 2010)

The classroom is the site of encounter with difference. The most obvious aspect of this encounter is with cultural diversity. For Indian students, their international student experience is defined by this interaction with different cultures and nationalities, as Prasanna explains. In the context of learning, the other differences which marked their student experiences stemmed from a range of differences in social behaviour in the classroom (Indranil, London, 20th May, 2009) to other (different) modes of learning.

> ... here, a student has much more autonomy or is supposed to have much more autonomy while you are studying. [...] the emphasis is much higher on independent and critical thinking, which according to me is great. – Lakshmi (London, 10th June, 2009)

Like Lakshmi, Kiran too found the expectation of intellectual independence to be a liberating experience (Toronto, 21st November, 2009). Feeling at home within the

academic milieu did not come easily for others though, Khushi for example, lamented that in the first few months she felt insecure about her knowledge base when she compared herself to her colleagues. She felt intimidated by the amount of reading that was required of her to be on par with them (Toronto, 4th December, 2009). Anjali also said that she had felt intimidated by the amount of weekly readings that she had to do and had been overwhelmed with self-doubts regarding the value of her education from India (London, 30th June, 2009). This seemed to be a common experience among Indian students in London and Toronto. Amitav went on to elaborate further how he had to rework his writing style because he got low grades in the first semester. After speaking to his advisor and friends, he realized that his argument needed to be more focused (Toronto, 17th December, 2009). Such differences in learning and teaching simultaneously made the students feel at home/not at home. However, to their biggest advantage was the English language.

In contemporary everyday life in urban India, English is used quite widely. All the students who were interviewed said that their entire education had been in English. As a result, 28 out of 36 students stated that they were most comfortable communicating in English. A recent study by Sawir *et al* (2012) noted that Indian international students did not have any difficulties in English since it is often the *'lingua franca'* in education. Most of the Indian students of the study showed significant levels of self-confidence (Yang *et al*, 2006) in using English. Yang *et al* (2006) defines 'self-confidence in using a language' as having "high level of perceived competence in the second language, combined with low levels of anxiety using that language" (Yang *et al*, 2006: 490). So, whether the Indian students were actually competent in English becomes insignificant in the face of the introduction of the idea of 'self-confidence in the second language'.

This relates to the postcolonial identity of Indian students. The English language is one of the colonial legacies which postcolonial India has appropriated as its own. Sahil had been asked the question, 'why is your English so good?' on several occasions by fellow Canadian students.

> ... 'Why is your English so good?' And it's easy to jump back to 'you know my dad was a diplomat' but I'd rather go back to the explanation that India was a British colony and a lot of us are taught to speak English at the outset because English is like a pan-Indian language in the way that Hindi and others are and it's always shocking to them. And then you get into the details like 'Oh, it's not that you speak English, it's your accent'. And so it's like, 'some English is ok and other English is not good enough'? – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

Since it is not within the scope of the study to evaluate the nuances of different accents, it will be safe to say that Sahil spoke in a North American accent. In this instance, it seems that the fact that he spoke in an accent which was not typically 'Indian', was being questioned by the inquirer. Sahil wanted to attribute his proficiency in the language to his travels in different parts of the world as the son of an Indian diplomat. But he wanted to assert his postcolonial identity instead because he felt he needed to break down some of the stereotype associated with international students in terms of their inability to speak in English (Zhang and Mi, 2009) or in his case, the stereotyping associated with Indians speaking in a particular accent.

Monica faced a similar situation, and unlike Sahil, she was amused at the ignorance of her classmates regarding India and Indian culture.

> ... They found it difficult to believe that I was speaking in English within three months of being in Toronto. They are like, 'how do you know English?' and I don't want to correct them. I would rather have them believe that I learned English in three months, then you know, no matter what I say, they would be like, 'Wow, she said it in perfect English! How did you manage that?' [...] It is so funny. Just about two days back someone told me that I am a whitewashed Indian and I was like, 'What does that mean?' and he was like, 'You

> are more whitewashed than the Brampton Indians', and I said, 'What do you mean by that?' and he was like, 'I know Indians in Brampton who have more accent than you do.' [...] Indian accent. What for them is an Indian accent. For me, I know that every part of India, people have a different accent, when they speak in English. [...] I think they have this idea about how Indian people should be like. They should have this funny accent, like you see Russell Peters[75] do an imitation of it. They expect you to have that accent. —Monica (Toronto, 11th December, 2009)

Monica's classmates were ignorant not only about English being the official language of India, but also its use as part of everyday communication in urban areas (especially among young people). But she did not rectify their mistake of assuming that she did not know English and used it as a deliberate subversive strategy to work the situation to her advantage. It placed her in a position of power over other international students, and even some Canadian students who did not speak English at home; the knowledge of which surprised Monica considerably (Toronto, 11th December, 2009). Connected to her proficiency in the English language was her accent. There was an undertone of racism (Brown and Jones, 2012) in the comment about Monica being a 'whitewashed Indian'. Monica chose to overlook the comment and instead blamed this blatant stereotyping on the media portrayal of Indians. Lakshmi had faced a similar situation as an undergraduate student in Australia, as well as a postgraduate student in London. In both instances people questioned her fluency in the language, and even assumed that she was from London.

> ... In Perth [...] there were many a times when people said that 'Are you from India? I can't believe it because your English is so good.' I don't know whether it was a compliment or whether it was like 'you are from India and you should not speak good English'. I don't know which it was. [...] Here, oh, like twice people thought I was born here or something ... – Lakshmi (London, 10th June, 2009)

[75] Russell Peters is a Canadian stand-up comedian of Indian origin. His father was an Anglo-Indian from Mumbai who immigrated to Canada where Russell Peters was born.

Like Monica, Lakshmi found these encounters interesting and amusing, tinged with a level of critical sensitivity about her postcolonial identity. She stated that she spoke in English at home and claimed to even "think in English" (London, 10th June, 2009). Gautam called himself "a bastardized kid" (London, 1st September, 2009) in the sense that he was most fluent in English, and could not read or write Bengali, which was his mother tongue. The reason for this was that his father's job entailed his family to travel across India and he had spent significant periods of his childhood and teenage years in different parts of the country. In order to negotiate this multi-linguality, he switched to English, in which he felt "absolutely" comfortable (London, 1st September, 2009). The English language is so entrenched in the contemporary urban middle-class life that apart from it being spoken in households like those of Lakshmi, Monica, Teresa, and Raj, it was not surprising to find that all the students had received their entire education in English. While applying to the Canadian university, Khushi had refused to take the TOEFL exam because she felt that she was competent enough in the language and had even asked the admissions committee if they wanted to go through her MPhil dissertation. In the end, she had got a letter from her university in India to state that the medium of teaching and evaluation was English thereby successfully avoiding taking the test for English language proficiency (Toronto, 20th November, 2009).

All these examples refer to Yang *et al*'s (2006) idea of self-confidence in a foreign language. Also, it provides a counter viewpoint about Asian international students' difficulties with the English language (Zhang and Mi, 2009). From the accounts of the Indian students it was evident that they were fluent in English (Sawir *et al*, 2012) and had self-confidence (Yang *et al*, 2006) in the language. In such circumstances, they reversed the 'gaze' (Said, 1978) of the west and spoke of the domestic (English and Canadian) students as the foreigners, and other international students such as the

Chinese and European as the 'other'. Fluency in English is used as a tool to position oneself within the intercultural exchange between other international students.

However, difficulty in understanding each other in an inter-cultural context does not necessarily mean that it has a direct impact on the learning experience; as a latest study on Chinese international students has revealed (Zhang and Mi, 2010). In fact, Tarun stated that the diversity in the classroom was also met with 'pastoral care' (Lewis, 2005) and responsibility from the staff, which created a multicultural and flexible space wherein students felt comfortable to express their perspectives and thereby initiate and participate in open academic discussions.

> ... It was good to see our professors so open and friendly because we don't get to see professors so open and friendly in India. It's good to see that people here respect in the real sense. In a class you see people speaking in English, but different accents. I have an Indian accent, you hear Chinese accent and Korean accent, and other Asian accents. And there are guys with African accents. Most of the professors and our classmates, they pay attention to what the other guys say. It's not like 'Ok this guy is from that part of the world and we don't care what he speaks'. It really is a diverse country and they respect that. – Tarun (Toronto, 20th December, 2009)

And yet, despite his praise for the welcoming academic environment in the classroom, Tarun had found it difficult to participate in class discussions. Classroom and seminar participation (Coward and Miller, 2010) where students are required to voice their opinions was a topic that came up frequently in the interviews. He had attributed it to his schooling in Lucknow where, according to him, students are not encouraged to speak in class. As a result, he found it very difficult to participate. Nakane (2006) discusses the significance of silence as part of being polite among Japanese international students. However, silence is usually viewed negatively in 'western' pedagogic cultures. This relates to the 'deficit discourse' regarding the learning styles of Asian international students (Kember, 2000). Particularly referring to the Asian learner

(Chalmers and Volet, 1997), the deficit model refers to the Asian international student as shy, reserved and usually silent in class as a cultural marker (Nakane, 2006). The other discourse involves providing a counterview of Asian international students (Marlina, 2009). Li and Campbell (2008) recommend that universities should be more proactive in taking more responsibility for international students' learning in classrooms. Following Montgomery and McDowell (2009), I shall not focus on the deficit model, and instead focus on the intercultural and social aspects of learning that form an important part of building a 'community of practice' (Montgomery, 2010) through social and friendship networks.

Montgomery (2010) elaborates on the idea of 'community of practice' in the context of international students as a group of people whose ongoing interaction is based on common values, issues, and experiences. Wenger *et al* (2002: 4) state that these people don't necessarily work together every day, but they meet because they find value in their interactions. As they spend time together they typically share information, insight and advice. They help each other solve problems. They discuss their situations, their aspirations, and their needs. They ponder common issues, explore ideas, and act as sounding boards.

For Indian students, the community of practice mainly comprised of their co-national friends, but they also seemed to be comfortable building their own group of close-knit friends among other nationalities. Also, Indian students acclimatized to the new learning environment by connecting to their prior knowledge from India.

> ... I spoke about *dalits*[76] in class and how there is still discrimination against *dalits*, although there is a clause about untouchability and

[76] *Dalit* is a Hindi term given to the castes and tribes who in the pre-1947 era were called 'untouchables'. The Indian government now uses the term 'Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' and uses an affirmative action policy of reservation in various public sector opportunities such as education.

> there are so many acts passed by the government, and things like that. [...] So my teacher [...] and all my classmates, they all came up to me and they were like, 'your paper was very interesting'. That was really positive because I was finding it very hard to cope with everything [...] I was feeling like I was not good enough. So, this was really positive and I felt that I could move on and I could push myself a little more, because I was like, 'Ok, it's not pointless. Something good is coming out of this'. – Monica (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009)

By talking about a subject that she knew well, Monica gained the much-needed confidence to speak up in class. Brown's (2008) study discusses how international students experience stress at different aspects of their lives and Monica admitted that losing confidence in her class was causing her considerable stress. By discussing something familiar she was able to regain her confidence. Similarly, Kiran had mentioned that she always brought up Indian examples when explaining something to her undergraduate students in the tutorials because "the easiest examples that come to my mind are from India, because I know India better than anything else" (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009).

On the other hand, it was the MBA students in London and Toronto who spoke about learning from diversity. Students from different countries provided for richer discussions (Amitav, Toronto, 17th December, 2009) because they all came to class with different viewpoints (Raj, Toronto, 22nd December, 2009), which made group work much more interesting (Anirban, Toronto, 18th January, 2010). In fact, all MBA students spoke about the diversity in the classroom. This can be attributed to the nature of the degree. Being a professional degree which involves interacting with different kinds of clients from different parts of the world, it was no surprise that students getting a degree in Business Administration were more interested in interacting with different cultures and nationalities (Hall, 2008). This shows that the subject or discipline of study also determines the way in which 'learning' was perceived.

It was interesting to note that students did not talk about a Canadian experience or an British experience. Students spoke about the classroom in a more global sense with some of the students explicitly stating that there were very few domestic students in their classes (Rishi, London, 3rd August, 2009). It is within these multicultural campuses (Montgomery, 2010) that the students created their community of practice through friendship networks between some domestic and other international students within formal and informal academic spaces. The patterns of friendships differed depending on the spaces of the university they accessed. The spatial practices of the library, the postgraduate student office, and the laboratory were simultaneously formal and informal spaces of learning.

6.3.2. Informal spaces of learning

Chism (2006) and Dittoe (2006) use the term 'flexible space' to indicate the multi-functionality of spaces in the university from the perspective of the relationship between built form and learning. Indian students built their sense of community (Bickford and Wright, 2006) within these 'flexible spaces' of learning. Although the main function of the library, postgraduate student office, and laboratory is academic, they also act as social spaces for the students. These spaces, in addition to the formal spaces such as the classroom and lecture hall, contribute to the building of a community of practice for Indian students.

Figure 41: Group study at the library

> ... These are two pictures combined together by my phone. You see this guy [in the centre] is a bit hazy because he moved. This is in the library. We were studying and this is my laptop, and he was explaining something to her. It's probably 11 or 12 in the night. I used to be practically in the library like all day and night, all the time. – Rishi (London, 3rd August, 2009)

As mentioned in the beginning of the section, there exists an interrelationship between the location of the residence and the way the university spaces are used. In case of libraries, students in London seemed to use them more than students in Toronto, with little difference between those who lived on campus and those who lived away from campus. Rishi, for example, did not live on campus, and yet he spoke about the hours he spent in the library. His photograph also depicted the social nature of the space (See Fig. 41). Indranil also shared a photograph of a computer area in the library of his university (Fig. 42) during exam time. Vidya, who lived in the SOAS residence, located away from the college, also mentioned working late in the library (London, 21st July, 2009).

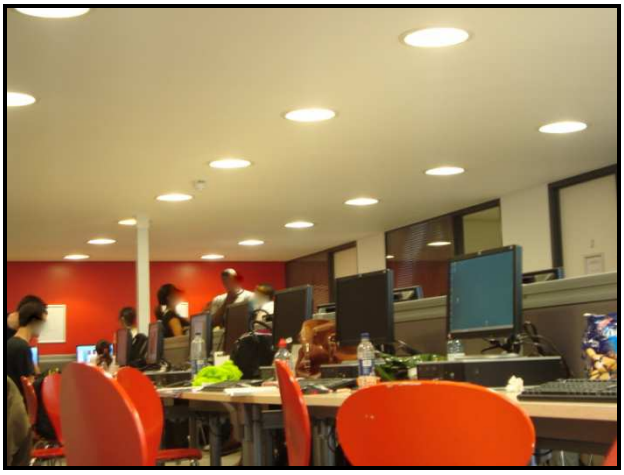

Figure 42: Computer Laboratory as a social space

Richa on the other hand, found it hard to concentrate in the library when her friends were there. She felt that the library offered too many distractions in terms of meeting friends, and having to go outside to eat[77] every two hours. She therefore, preferred working in her room. However, I pointed out an apparent contradiction in her diary entries on two consecutive days which read thus:

20th July, Monday - Went to the library with a friend to research

21st July, Tuesday - Went to the library to research

She explained the reason for this anomaly. She was an LLM student and at the time, she was writing up her dissertation. Since her classes were over, most of her friends had either returned to their countries or back to their parents' home to write their dissertations. As a result, the library was comparatively quieter (Fig. 43) which made it conducive for study.

[77] Since no food and drink are allowed inside libraries.

Figure 43: View of an empty library

In case of formal and informal spaces of learning in the university, the idea of home was simultaneously 'here' and 'there'. While 'learning practices' and fluency in English were immediate triggers that made them feel at home/not at home in terms of ease of communication with other students within the spaces of the classroom; other spaces such as the library and the postgraduate office are more flexible and processual spaces and required constant negotiation in order to make them more like home. In this context, 'home' refers to comfort and familiarity. Making these spaces more comfortable depended on home-making practices aided by building design and sociality. Contrary to Richa's idea about 'quiet study', Anuradha did not like the library because it felt 'dead', like "a mausoleum" (London, 24th July, 2009). Tanvi, who lived on QMUL campus, spent time in the campus library and IALS on a regular basis. In fact, she went on to mention that it were the libraries in London which fascinated her the most (6th August, 2009). In Toronto, Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009) and Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009) stated that the proximity of the library to their

student residences was one of the factors for choosing to live on campus. But they did not mention researching or studying in the library being an important part of their everyday life. Gitanjali (Toronto, 27th January, 2010) and Josh (Toronto, 3rd December, 2009) too, mentioned the library facilities of U of T as a valuable resource but not as an academic (or social) space. Amitav (Toronto, 17th December, 2009) was the only one who mentioned studying in the library because he preferred studying in the natural light and he was of the habit of selecting a window in the library for some quiet solitary study.

The idea that the library space is a "gathering place for learners rather than a warehouse for books" (Lombardi & Wall, 2006: 2) appeared to resonate more among students in London than in Toronto. Students in London mentioned more instances where they used the library as a social space than their Toronto counterparts. A significant difference between the classroom and the library is that the former is part of the academic routine while the latter is an individual choice. However, spatial practices of Indian students do not reflect Jamieson's (2009) claim that the library has evolved into a 'learning centre' and the main place for students to meet out of the classroom for informal learning. Knight *et al* (2010) conclude that international students used the library primarily as a place of study. However, my study of Indian students corroborates Lombardi and Wall's (2006) finding that students did not find the library to be a significant space for group or solitary study, even though there was evidence to show that it did have the potential to materialize into a social space.

For doctoral students, their offices were primarily social spaces. Two of the seven doctoral students in Toronto spoke about their office as a space where they spent

considerable time studying. In London, Teresa was the only one who had an office[78] but she did not mention it specifically. Although she worked from her office three times a week, she did not talk about her office space, which possibly indicates its insignificance in her life. Apart from Nayantara and Sahil for whom their office space was an important part of their everyday life, other PhD students in Toronto, namely Kiran, Gitanjali, and Khushi preferred not to work in their offices. Each of them had different reasons for choosing not to work there. Kiran was writing her PhD thesis at the time of the interviews and preferred working in the comfort and solitude of her apartment. She however, did express dissatisfaction with the fact that her department was not a social space. She made a direct comparison with her experience at the residential campus in Delhi where both faculty and students lived. This widened the scope for more personal interactions outside classrooms and more long-term relationships.

> ... there was a lot more interpersonal relationships in India, in JNU. Perhaps because it was a residential university, so the professors and the students used to stay on campus and that relationship continues even till this day. Whereas at York, that relationship is impossible. [...] If you want to meet your supervisor, you can go and meet your supervisor, but apart from that, there is no real interest in you as a person or what you are doing. – Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009)

Gitanjali and Khushi, on the other hand, appeared to be quite social people as they shared a number of photographs and stories about how they liked cooking and entertaining friends in their apartments. But they felt less comfortable in their offices. Both felt uncomfortable being in the department or in the office because they could not 'relate to' (Gitanjali, Toronto, 19th January, 2010) what appeared to them as superficial social behaviour.

[78] Gautam was the other PhD student in London but he did not have an office.

> ... I dislike people's artificial way of greeting each other—"hey, how are you doing?" in a sing-song kind of a way. It is so artificial. [...] I can't relate to that. [...] that sing-song kind of, 'Oh, I am over-happy to see you' and the next moment I don't even care about you. I don't like that kind of thing. – Gitanjali (Toronto, 19th January, 2010)

What Canadians might consider polite conversation or small talk was interpreted as artificiality by Gitanjali. This perhaps relates to the 'culture shock' discourse (Brown and Holloway, 2008). The transitional phase when students arrive is arguably the most difficult and stressful. So, what Gitanjali describes as artificiality might possibly be her reaction to her immediate environment upon arrival.

> ... Then even if I would go to office, there were always these random noises in the corridor—"hi, how are you doing? Nice meeting you" [in a shrill tone] I can't do that. If you are interested in how I am doing, then listen to how I am doing. You don't even listen to how I am doing; you just ask a question and just go away. I don't like that. So, I am not even interested in replying to 'how you're doing'. There are too many pretentious people in my department. – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

By staying away from the department and not using the office space allotted to her, Khushi re-instates the stereotypical view that international students do not socialize. The differences in the levels and ways of social interaction (Gareis, 2000) between Indian and Canadian students seemed to affect their feeling of home in the department and consequently, their office. In another academic department at YU, Sahil spoke at length about the sociality of his office space. He expressed his disappointment in the construction of the new building where his office had recently been moved (Fig. 44).

Figure 44: Graduate office in the new building at YU

He felt that the building was more corporate than academic because of the impersonal character of the postgraduate offices. Edwards (2000) discussed the significance of architectural design in planning the campus and individual buildings on campus as a way 'to express the mission of [the] university in built form' (as quoted in Temple, 2009: 230). The interconnection between the architectural design of a university building and its functionality (van Heur, 2010) was something that Sahil discussed in more detail while considering his new office space. An academic space, according to Sahil would ideally be an open and flexible space symbolizing the innate characteristic of knowledge acquisition, i.e. broadening one's horizons (Toronto, 21st January, 2010), and which would also give rise to a sense of community among the faculty and postgraduate students (Kuh *et al*, 2005; Temple and Barnett, 2007). His office belied this vision. Being mostly cubicles (Fig. 45), it meant that students could not have private conversations with close associates without being overheard.

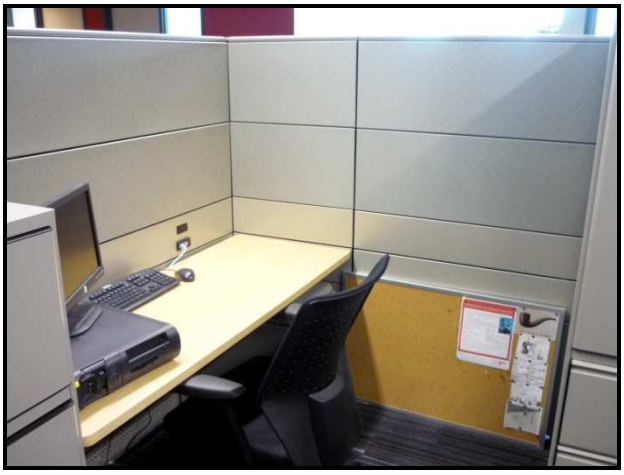

Figure 45: A graduate office cubicle

Sahil felt fortunate to have got an office which he shared with his friend and colleague. But the lack of windows, as well as a common space in the office, discouraged collegiality. The overall 'feel' of the building was such that students did not feel like personalizing their space.

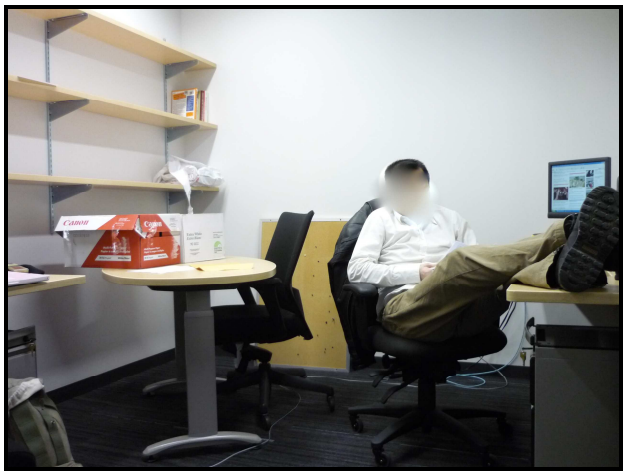

Figure 46: A non-personalized graduate office

> ... this office [is shared] between myself and two other people, but there are no books on the shelves and we are already five months into the school year but nobody's bothered settling in and there are boxes scattered around. In the other place, [...] people would take ownership, like people would bring stuff from home to decorate the place, and put up posters and we would have cushions and what not till it got to a point that the offices were individualized [...] but here it hasn't happened. Except for the faculty maybe, nobody's actually settled in. – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

Sahil went on to elaborate that the building was much more technologically advanced, with better AV equipment, and there were more meeting rooms, but there was no 'cosy' (Sahil, Toronto, 21st January, 2010) feel to the place because people did not know how to utilize the space. Sahil felt that the place was too corporate-like and did not have the 'communal' (Toronto, 21st January, 2010) atmosphere which is conducive for academic activity. This was echoed by Kiran who had an office in the same building. She felt that the building was too stark and impersonal and spoke about the power structure in the university in terms of the allocation of offices (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009). According to her, graduate students being in the lowest rung of the hierarchy were allotted offices without windows. Although Kiran felt privileged at acquiring an international degree, she was quite critical about the power relations within the university.

In comparison, Nayantara shared her office with another international student, who was also her flatmate. Her office was an academic and social space. There were two photographs of her office. The first showed her desk, which was full of papers and mementoes. Although the office is a part of the university, she made herself at home within this space.

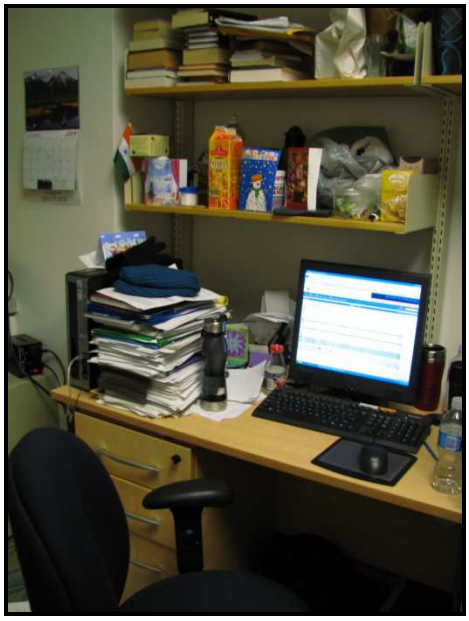

Figure 47: Nayantara's desk in her office

> ... This is my desk. Very cluttered. All files and papers on one side, as you can see. And there's the flag of India. I had that and of course, I like to express my exclusivity as an Indian and of course, the fact that 'Hello, I am very international. You should respect me', and 'If I don't fit in, then so be it'. We should have an attitude if we are getting some. – Nayantara (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

She drew attention specifically to the Indian flag (marked by a black oval shape) on the left hand corner of the bottom shelf. This indicated her identity not only as an Indian student, but also as an international student. She asserted that it was a deliberate act of inserting herself in the department and was a strategy to command visibility and 'respect'. This conscious effort to insert her identity within the department also related to an observation that she had made elsewhere in the interview. She had referred to the small number of women scientists and even fewer numbers of South Asian women scientists in her field of specialization (Toronto, 5th December, 2009) and therefore her need to make herself more visible. Nayantara indicated that she felt left out and unable to 'fit in' but that did not deter her from personalizing her office space. While the previous photograph (Fig. 47) was solely focussed on her desk, the second photograph (Fig. 48) showed her friend's desk in relation to hers, and also gave a glimpse of how

the space was used as a social space. Like Sahil and Kiran who spoke about the importance of windows in the offices, Nayantara too spoke at length about the window in the background. She mentioned how she loved watching the season change through the window.

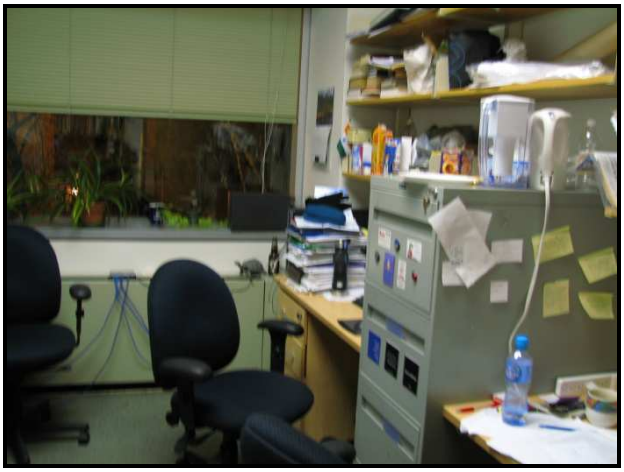

Figure 48: Another view of Nayantara's desk

The desk in the foreground belonged to her friend. The filing cabinet between the two desks acted as a partition and provided the much-needed privacy. Simultaneously, it was not high enough to alienate people. On the filing cabinet there were a number of magnets with motivational quotations to keep her going when she was met with personal or academic hurdles (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009). There is an electric kettle for tea of coffee, and in the far-side of the photograph, in the corner of the window, on top of the heater, I spotted a beer bottle next to a toy turtle. When I asked her about it, she said:

> ... Yeah, the beer bottle is just the Friday sessions of beer. [...] I picked up the turtle from the Darwin exhibit. [...] [When it was travelling to] New York I managed to see it at the National Museum of Natural History and this is the memento I picked up. It's the turtle. That's called Charlie, after Charles Darwin. [...] I had a nest in Rutgers and I just moved my nest here. That's what J first told me like 'of course you'll have more stuff than us, you had a nest' and I completely agree. So, it shows. – Nayantara (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

Her desk in the office, like her desk in her room (See Chapter Seven) represented her spatio-temporal and emotional connections with different aspects of her identity, and to multiple home(s). By personalizing her office, and inserting her identities in myriad ways within the limited space, she made herself at home, even though at times she felt like she did not fit in. Connections were made with her student life in the US, with her identity as an Indian, as well as her identity as an Evolutionary Biologist and as a woman in the field of Science. It was in the office space that she built a sense of community with her office mates during Friday beer sessions. The window in her office also made her feel connected with the world outside. Postgraduate students spent long hours in their available research spaces, such as the home, the office, and the laboratory. Nayantara called her laboratory her "experimental space" (Fig. 49). Here too, she mentioned the importance of the window and how looking up from her microscope and into the sunshine outside helped her stay focussed (Fig. 50).

Figure 49: Nayantara's laboratory as "experimental space"

She compared her present (and according to her, the most coveted) equipment position in her laboratory to her previous laboratory at Rutgers. There the window used to face the gym, which was a cause of much distraction and consternation for her (Toronto,

22nd December, 2009). Through these anecdotes and examples, she illustrated what it meant to feel at home/not at home within the space of her laboratory in multiple spatio-temporal sites.

Figure 50: Microscope by the window

Like Nayantara's office, Rishi's computer laboratory was simultaneously an academic and a social space. Since Rishi spent a considerable time there, it was no surprise to see that it was also a social space where friends met up and discussed academic and personal issues in a relaxed atmosphere. Murthi and Naryanan, both computer science students at QMUL, like Rishi, supported this when they spoke about their everyday life and how it revolved around going to the computer lab and back to their residences.

Figure 51: A late night study session

> ... This is during, well, before the exam actually. We were preparing [...] and if you notice, that's Facebook actually [on the computer screen in the background]. I took a picture just to show what people do in ITL [Informatics Teaching Laboratory], actually. – Rishi (London 3rd August, 2009)

The photograph along with the narrative illustrated how the computer lab was a social space but it also was connected with other (virtual) social spaces through the social networking site. It is noteworthy that those who mentioned the office and the laboratory as social spaces were also those who lived away from campus. Teresa, Khushi, Gitanjali, and Kiran who all lived on campus, did not mention their offices as significant spaces in their everyday lives. Therefore, a spatial connection can be drawn between the practice of university academic spaces and the place of residence of the students. Feeling at home/not home was a continuous negotiation between familiarity and unfamiliarity in learning/teaching techniques as understood through the complicated use of the English language as a tool to position their identities within the discourse of domestic-international-other students. Again, the way that ideas of home/not home are manifest depends upon what the space constitutes and what it offers. Compared to the dwelling space, university spaces are more institutional in character and whether or not the students felt comfortable in those spaces depended upon a number of factors. The community of practice (Montgomery, 2010) of students

within these spaces contributed significantly to their feeling of home/not home. While the residential location of the students, (i.e. whether or not they lived on campus or away from it) did not have a significant impact on their spatial practices of formal and informal spaces of learning, it had a more profound impact on the other non-academic spaces of the university.

6.4. University as lived space

Figure 52: First day at the residence

> ... And [the photograph of] this bench is [here] for a reason. When I came here, I paid my fees and there was this moment when I thought 'Oh, I am finally here' and I sat on this bench and I thought 'there are many memories waiting to be made here' – Lakshmi (London, 24th June, 2009)

The image of the single empty bench in an empty courtyard captures a poignant moment of arrival. For Lakshmi, as with many other Indian students, arriving at their place of residence marked an important part of their lives as an international student. The photograph is a retrospective one where she recalled the moment when she had thought of all the days before her as an international student. The photograph, presently devoid of memories, people, and activities, symbolizes the potential of it being filled with experiences, emotions and encounters. Holdsworth (2006) claims that

a student's residential status plays a significant role in their all-round university experience. The residential learning environment (Shushok *et al*, 2011) of a residential campus has a far-reaching impact on a student's experience of university life. It is argued that such a holistic learning experience cannot be experienced by students who commute. This inter-relationship between residence and social learning will be discussed in this section.

Although formal and informal academic spaces of the university (as discussed in Section 6.3) were also social spaces, this section focuses mainly on lived experiences of universities (Singh *et al*, 2007), which is related to the social aspect of learning (Matthews *et al*, 2011). According to Temple (2008) this is an area which has been neglected and 'under-researched'. The non-academic spaces of the university are understood by drawing on the idea of learning as a 'community of practice' (Wenger *et al*, 2002). This relates to different social (Gill and Balinski, 2012) and friendship networks (Latham and Conradson, 2005; Bunnell *et al*, 2011) among international students (Collins, 2004) as ways in which they make themselves at home in a foreign university (Montgomery, 2010). Holdsworth (2006) discusses that a 'typical student' has a well-rounded university experience by living on campus. Also, Temple (2007) claims that students are generally disinterested in the physical space of the campus because they consider themselves as transients and migrants, perceiving universities as 'places to come to for limited periods for specific purpose' (Temple, 2007: 70). This problematizes the idea of permanency/migrancy because Indian students are migrants in a foreign land, but in the context of living in the university campus, their position is more permanent than the local domestic students who live at home and commute to university. So, although Indian students are outsiders in their host country, they are 'insiders' on campus (Holdsworth, 2006). For the purpose of better understanding the

socio-spatial relations between students and the non-academic spaces of the university, I have categorized the different spaces into indoor and outdoor spaces.

6.4.1. Outdoor spaces in the university

Figure 53: Collage of Shankar's significant campus outdoor spaces

Shankar took a walk on a sunny day and took photographs of outdoor spaces of QMUL campus which were important to him. Beginning with the entrance to QMUL (photograph on top left-hand corner) and proceeding clockwise (in the collage), he narrated how the library square, The Curve, the postgraduate building (Lockkeeper's

cottage), a photograph of him at the Regent's Canal, his residence building, and the path leading towards the gate outside were all significant to him. They were spaces which were part of his everyday life, spaces where he sat alone or with friends, either spending a quiet moment or doing chores (such as laundry), grabbing a bite to eat in between long study sessions in the library, or simply wandering around. His 'photowalk' was a visual narrative (Datta, 2011) of the significant everyday spaces of the university, which were arguably important to him because he lived on campus.

Jamieson (2003) has stated that the relationship between the physical environment and learning is not clearly defined. Temple's (2008) in-depth study of the literature corroborated this and was later broadened to contend that not only was there a dearth of conceptual understanding of this inter-relationship, there was not sufficient research regarding the sense of place of the university (Temple and Barnett, 2007). Cuyjet *et al* (2011) have attempted to understand multiculturalism on campus with the help of Strange's (1996) three-pronged model of architectural determinism, probabilism and possibilism. Although mention was made of the physical aspect of the university, its two-way relationship with students and impact on their learning was not dealt with. Temple (2009) applied the concept of locational capital being transformed into social capital through social networks within the spaces of the university. This section will deal with the ways in which Indian students create a sense of place in the non-academic spaces of the university. Findings from Belanger *et al*'s (2007) study suggested that students were not very concerned with the built environment of the campus. The present study reveals that several aspects of the university's built environment have a social significance in the everyday lives of Indian students. As discussed in the beginning of the chapter, the two residential campuses in the study are YU and QMUL. As the maps of the two campuses reveal (Figs. 30 and 32), there are open spaces (at

YU), paved streets and squares (at QMUL) interspersed between the academic and administrative buildings. Students 'hang out' in these places either alone or in groups. The campus therefore, resembles an urban microcosm (Temple, 2009).

Eeshwar, on the other hand, who lived in private housing at a distance of less than 30 minutes walking distance from QMUL mentioned how his campus visits had decreased once he started writing his dissertation (London, 13th August, 2009). It was evident that the campus was mostly a formal learning space for students living away from it. A notable exception was Khushi's multi-dimensional use of different spaces of YU. An excerpt from Khushi's diary read thus:

30 November

1. *York [U]: TA work, transcription*
2. *Met D and N for lunch at York*
3. *Enquire about transferring money to India through BMO*[79]
4. *Gym[...]*

Khushi, who was living in downtown Toronto during the time of the interviews, wrote in her diary about a day she spent at YU. Not only did she work on her research, but also met her friends for lunch, went to the gym, and ran errands regarding money transfer to India at Bank of Montreal branch at York Lanes. YU was not limited to being an educational space. It was also a social space where she socialized with her friends, a space which catered to her transnational needs of sending remittances to India, and the gym at YU was her personal training space. This can perhaps be attributed to the fact that Khushi had lived in YU for two years before moving downtown. So, her engagement with the campus spaces was similar to that of students residing in it.

[79] Bank of Montreal

Figure 54: An evening walk around campus

> ... this is the [Stong] pond. One evening, one of the guys called and said, 'let's take a walk'. These two guys are from Punjab and that guy is from Delhi. They all live in Assiniboine[80]. – Prasanna (Toronto, 22nd January, 2010)

Going for walks around campus seemed to be an easy way for students to relax and take a break from their studies. Prasanna had mentioned in one of the interviews that he felt comfortable going for a jog alone on the campus because there were other people who did so and consequently he did not feel out of place, which would have been the case in India (Toronto, 21st December, 2009). Madan had also shared a similar photograph of the day he went exploring the campus with his friends (Toronto, 18th January, 2010). While Prasanna liked taking walks with his friends, Kiran liked going for solitary walks to keep herself fit (Toronto, 21st November, 2009). The Regent's Canal which runs through the QMUL campus was mentioned quite frequently as a social space as well as a place for solitary reflection. Social moments like a barbeque party on the banks of the canal (Eeshwar, 30th July, 2009) shape the university experience of Indian students. While contextualizing a photograph (Fig. 55), Rohan spoke about the week when one of his friends was visiting him from Alaska. Apart from taking her to Niagara Falls, he also showed her around campus and the

[80] Assiniboine apartments consist of four 14 storey apartments for YU postgraduate students.

photograph in question was taken by her while they were sitting on the grassy patches which rolled down to the Stong Pond.

Figure 55: Relaxing near Stong Pond

> ... This is a view of the [residence] buildings behind. The residences where we stayed. Actually it's a nice spot except for all the goose shit everywhere ... – Rohan (Toronto, 26th September, 2009)

Rohan's photograph showed the residence buildings in the background and him in the foreground, lounging on the grass. Kiran's photograph of the main building of YU, the Vari Hall and the Ross Building in the background, and the green lawns and the Canada geese in the foreground tell two parallel stories.

Figure 56: Main entrance and lawns of YU

> ... This is supposed to be the main entrance to the university. You can see the nice lawn and the Canadian geese and you can see the nice dome [of the] building which looks very attractive. So people generally like that a lot and they talk a lot about the building where all the student demonstrations are held and right behind it you see the grey concrete Ross Building. So I just thought that the front is always so attractive and the way we try to present ourselves always looks so attractive, but sometimes what is behind also needs to be taken into account. But anyway, sometimes you can go and sit in the lawn and have your lunch and all. And it's actually quite nice ... – Kiran (Toronto, 26th November, 2009)

Kiran interpreted her own photograph by discussing the binary of the visible/invisible and linked it to her earlier discussion of the power structure in the university. Student demonstrations in Vari Hall, her academic home in the Ross Building, her situatedness in Canada, and her use of the green space to have a quiet lunch, all revealed several layers of her identity. She was an international student doing her PhD in Humanities at a Canadian university. But she also lived within the boundaries of the university campus, which made such taken-for-granted spaces special to her while simultaneously being a part of her everyday life on campus. Sahil shared a similar photo of Vari Hall but explained its significance differently. For him, the building was a visual reminder of his status as an international student, and therefore, a sense of non-belonging. It was also a symbol of his presence in Canada. The national identity of the campus was

also inscribed into the built environment of the campus (Fig. 57). This indicated the positioning of the university in the national and global arena (Edwards, 2000).

Figure 57: Sahil's ambivalence about the campus and locating himself as an international student

> I don't have that many pictures of York. [...] I've never actually taken pictures of York and I take a lot of pictures generally [...] even in terms of sending pictures to my mom when she was around or even sharing it with my brother. So when I was there the other day, I thought that this is the biggest part of my life but it's also the part which I have no record of [...] But I've also kind of grown to like it, even though I hate the space and very passionately kind of hate the space, it's grown on me. I am learning to appreciate it. One of the good things about the morning as much as I dislike being there, it's quiet. It's before the crowds get there, it's before it gets difficult to move around, before 9:30, if you want to go to the library, or get a bite or whatever it is, it's fairly easy to move around, and at that point, it feels like it's my campus, it's comfortable. By afternoon, it's just crazy and it's easier to be cooped up in the office and not actually head out at all and there's something pretty about York in the morning. – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

Sahil's taking the photograph and describing its significance was a reflexive exercise for him. He felt a sense of belonging when he arrived at YU one early morning. He

realized while taking the photograph that he did not have many photographs of his university, the reason he was in Canada. Considering the hardships[81] that he had to endure during his stay there, his emotional (dis)connection with the place was not a surprise. But at the same time, he agreed that the place had grown on him and he felt connected to it in many ways. The Canadian flag reminded him of his location and also made him feel that he was an outsider because he did not know why the flag was flying half-mast.

Like the Canada Geese in YU campus, swans were a part of the QMUL campus. Teresa mentioned the swans and the canal in both interviews. So, it was not a surprise when she took a photograph of her favourite place. She spoke about the swans as being part of the experience of living in QMUL campus. The Regent's Canal too, seemed to have an impact on the students living in the QMUL campus. Shankar mentioned how he felt at home sitting next to the canal and watching the activities of people around it (London, 3rd July, 2009). Tanvi shared more than one photograph of the canal. For her, the interviews made her realize the importance of the canal in her everyday life.

[81] See Chapter Five

Figure 58: Regent's canal at QMUL

> ... Canal! It has to be the part of your life. Important part and I just like this canal and whenever I am happy, or if I am sad, or depressed or I am tense, I just come and sit for a while and [feel] fresh and then go back. It gives me a good boost and I carry on the rest of my work. So it is really very important part of my life. – Tanvi (London, 6th August, 2009)

Shruti had a similar experience while sharing her photographs. She admitted that if it had not been for the exercise of taking photos of important everyday spaces, she would not have realized that her life was confined to the campus (Toronto, 28thJanuray, 2010). She deliberately took the route which went past the Stong Pond because it gave her an opportunity to see something beautiful each day (Fig. 59).

Figure 59: Taking a more scenic route

Research on the relationship between spatiality and geographies of affect (Pile, 2010) helps in understanding feelings of home/not home within the non-academic spaces of the campus. The creation of a sense of place is the centre of this discussion because the different spaces of the university are infused with meaning through the ways in which they are practiced (Temple, 2009). The non-academic spaces of the university are an important part of the everyday lives of the students living on campus because they provide an opportunity for students to explore and create their own relationships with the environment (Ossa-Richardson, 2007). Speaking of the campus of University of York (UK)[82], Ossa-Richardson (2007) mentioned that the green spaces interspersed between buildings also created a sense of being a part of the whole. This view was supported by the Indian students of the study who connected their residential status in the university campus to their experiences of other campuses in India.

6.4.2. Indoor spaces in the university

Figure 60: York Lanes

[82] This is not to be confused with YU, which is part of the current study.

> ... This is York Lanes which is our mall and there are offices on top. The research centre which I used to work at was at York Lanes and everyone at York has a strange and mixed relationship with York Lanes because it's odd to have a mall on campus but it's not really a mall ... – Sahil (Toronto, 21st January, 2010)

York Lanes (Fig. 60) is an enclosed arcade of stores and shops inside the YU campus. It also acts as an enclosed passage connecting the rest of the campus to the main bus stops and parking lots. For Sahil, who commuted to YU, York Lanes was a space which he had a complicated relationship with. But for students living on campus, York Lanes was a place to 'hang out' with friends. Praveen went to say that York Lanes was 'the world for him' (Toronto, 23rd January, 2010). The lived experience of universities (Singh *et al*, 2007) is understood as the interstitial space between the mind and the body (Simonsen, 2007). The body perceives its physical environment through the different senses and the mind adds the affective qualities to these embodied practices (Harrison, 2000). Living on campus illustrates this contested socio-spatial relationship. Thomsen (2007) discusses the importance of architecture of student residence buildings and its impact on the feeling of home, while Shushok *et al* (2011) focus on the campus as a social learning space. In conjunction, their ideas help us understand the university as a lived space for Indian students.

Among the indoor spaces of the university, the shared kitchen was the one space that students in London and Toronto spoke about the most. The multi-functionality of this space is the main focus of this section. Continuing from the previous section about spaces of learning, I would like to introduce the kitchen as a flexible space where students studied with their friends or alone. As mentioned earlier, there exists a direct relationship between the university spaces and the residential location of the students.

Figure 61: Late night studying in the kitchen

> ... This was at night, at 2:30 or 3:30, and we were trying to solve some problems over there. I think half of the class who had taken this course were in a similar state. Some people were sitting in Scott [Library]; some people were in some other places. So yeah, we slogged a lot for that assignment. – Madan (Toronto, 18th January, 2010)

Madan lived on YU campus and his primary social network was also located there. This is the photograph of a dining space in a student residence on YU campus. The multicultural friendship network as visually depicted in the photograph positions Madan in the international student discourse, as well as illustrates his lived experience of a multicultural campus (Montgomery, 2010). The kitchen is also shown as a space for learning. Students living on campus or in student residences in London too, mentioned the kitchen as a space for solitary (Tanvi, London, 6th August, 2009) and group studies (Narayanan, London, 20th July, 2009).

> Subhadra: do you prefer studying in the library or at home?
>
> Anuradha: That I have never been able to figure out because I like to vary it. Because I can't spend the entire time in the library, or I can't spend all my days at home. But the more you spend your time at home, the less you work. So I need to vary it a bit, or here I sit in the kitchen, the kitchen is nice and bright.
>
> (London, 24th July, 2009)

Since her flat was a part of the university halls of residence (albeit away from the university), her experience of the kitchen as a place of study is similar to that of Tanvi who studied in his friend's kitchen (Fig. 63).

Figure 62: Residence kitchen as a study space

Tanvi had shared three photographs of her kitchen and when asked the reason for this, she seemed surprised. "You told me that all those things that are part of my routine, I should take pictures of?" (London, 6th August, 2009). When I confirmed, she went on to explain that the kitchen was an important part of her everyday life because she usually preferred studying there. Since most of her flatmates did not cook fequently, the kitchen was usually quiet.

Figure 63: Collage of kitchen table with books[83]

> ... kitchen of V's room. Our projects are very similar so we work together. The coding, Java and other programming language we use are common. So, we sit together and then code. So, that's the place where we [usually] sit. – Narayanan (London, 20th July 2009)

The kitchen then, is used here not as a traditional place for cooking and eating but as an academic place for group study as well as solitary study. Owing to the design of the halls, the study-bedroom (Curley, 2003) is a private space (as none of the students mentioned studying with groups in their bedrooms) and the kitchen is used as another 'quiet' space suitable for solitary and group study. The multi-functionality of the space is also signified through the different examples of its spatial practice. The kitchen of the student halls is also used for socializing with friends, i.e. an entertainment space. Cooking and eating together is a social activity (Valentine, 1999) which provides the opportunity for students to know about each other's culture. For students living with co-national friends, the kitchen did not have as much social significance as it did for students living in university residences. Although Josh lived in a university residence of

[83] I created this collage out of two photographs that Narayanan had shared. Since he discussed the two photographs together, a collage was a better way to represent the continuity.

U of T, he felt that despite it being a shared kitchen, not much interaction took place there. He compared his experience to living in a university hostel in India.

> ... The kind of interaction is very less [here] and the residences where I was staying previously in Delhi, they used to have a common dining room and I found that it was the dining room where conversations took place, where interactions took place. And that space is not available here. So you have to really go out and make a lot of effort to do that. But there you are already in a situation where you make conversations and make friendships. It's more individualiztic modern kind of setting which we have here. [...] But in the other situation, you are already there for dinner, and once you sit across a person, you talk. – Josh (Toronto, 3rd December, 2009)

Josh laments the lack of interaction in the U of T kitchen while students in London experienced the kitchen as a primary space for socialization. Like Josh's experience in India, students living in halls in London spoke about the kitchen as the place where new friendships were forged.

> ... Since it is catered, we kind of got an opportunity to meet every day for dinner and meet new people and that's basically how I made my friends and speak to them about their countries. – Anthony (London, 27th July, 2009)

Following Strange and Banning (2001), Temple (2008) suggests that effective learning can take place if students are provided with spaces which were neither where they work (academic spaces such as classrooms) nor where they live (their dwelling). The kitchen in the residence halls is such a 'socially catalytic third place' (Temple, 2008: 236), ideal for 'exploring new relationships and deepening old ones' (Strange and Banning, 2001: 146). Vidya had shared a photograph of a spread of food on a table. She had explained that it was the food that she and her flatmates had prepared for a 'flat dinner party' (London, 21st July, 2009). She went on to describe how the party had gone on till the early hours of the morning because dinner was followed by tea, and

later everyone had cleaned up the kitchen to leave it 'spotless' in the morning. According to her, such 'flat dinners' were quite commonplace in the halls.

Figure 64: Remnants of a party

> ... it kind of also shows that it's a student hall and it's a small kitchen but one small table and I think we were about eleven people who were sitting around this small little table ... – Nisha (London, 22nd July, 2009)

Nisha's visual depiction of the remnants of a party in Figure 64 was interesting because even though her friends are absent from the picture (which was a conscious decision on her part), the photograph tells a story. It is a vignette of life in a student residence. No matter what the size of the kitchen, it is a site where friends come together and spend time listening to music on the laptop, drinking and eating. Although Nisha mentioned that there were eleven people sitting around the table, no reference was made towards the nationalities of these friends. Since the kitchen is part of a student residence hall, it may be assumed that Nisha's friends were from different cultural and national backgrounds, like Vidya's. Hendrickson *et al*'s (2011) study about strong and weak ties supports Montgomery and McDowell's (2009) study of international students, both suggesting that international students create a social network of international friends.

> ... I drink a lot of infusion tea with my Japanese flatmate. Like every night my Japanese flatmate and I, we have this ritual around say 12 or 1. We go to the kitchen and have a cup of tea together. She has Japanese tea and that's how I got to taste it [...] And last night she wanted to have Indian *chai*. So we had that. It's a daily unspoken ritual that we do ... – Vidya (London, 21st July, 2009)

Sharing a cup of tea after dinner with her Japanese friend, Vidya was introduced to Infusion teas which she grew to like. Her Japanese friend also reciprocated this openness towards another culture by tasting Indian tea (or *chai*). This cultural exchange not only creates a meaningful place but also helps in building a sense of community (Kuh *et al*, 2005). Vidya had also mentioned during the course of the interview that she felt at home when she walked into her student residence at the end of the day because she had a close group of friends with whom she could relax. Vivek shared a photograph of a reunion of his friends in one of the residence kitchens.

Figure 65: A pot-luck lunch with former flatmates in the residence kitchen

> ... This is after I shifted to my new Hall. As in, all my friends shifted to some other Hall, and others shifted [somewhere else], [...] So we had a reunion over lunch. So everybody made something or the other. – Vivek (London, 24th July, 2009)

Vivek's visual narrative of the social space of the kitchen is an illustration of building new friendships and sustaining them. Bonds are created by sharing food and continued

even after the students move away to other residences. During their stay in the residences, socializing in the kitchen seemed to be a common phenomenon for students. Although kitchens in student residences provide space for intercultural contact (Holdsworth, 2006) and intercultural friendships to develop, it can also be a space which is (perhaps, inadvertently) exclusionary.

> ... I am amazed at how many Chinese friends I have. Like I have a Chinese friend, with whom we sit at the 3rd world table. It's really funny, because on one side there are all the Canadian, Australian, and English people. You can sit at their table and talk to them, they are very friendly. But for some reason, all the Pakistani, Indian, Chinese and South Korean people sit at one table. It's incredible because we do it subconsciously, because it's not like they have said anything and they come and talk to us and all, but we all sit at one table, for some reason. -- Monica (Toronto, 11th December, 2009)

Monica's experience in her student residence points towards the tendency of international students to seek comfort in the presence of their co-national friends. In her case, the group of students who ended up eating together were not necessarily Indians, but other Asians and South Asians. This could be due to the cultural similarity among Asians or perhaps because Asian and South Asian students were 'more' international than Australian and English students in Canada. In a predominantly White settler colony like Canada, Australians and English students would feel less like an outsider. The power binary of us/them is portrayed in this instance. However, this did not make Monica feel less at home within the space of the residence. She felt at home in her residence stating that "everybody is there to help if you ask them" (Toronto, 11th December, 2009). She shared an incident where once when the fuse of her room had blown late at night, one of her flatmates had come to her rescue (Toronto, 11th December, 2009). Overall, students seemed to take their contacts with other cultures and nationalities in a positive light. Vidya went a step further by

observing how this constant interaction with different nationalities had an effect on her behaviour as well as on others'.

> ... I live in a flat where there's one Chinese person, one Japanese person, one German, there are two Indians and one American; each of us has different mannerisms and we are adapting to each other's. With my German flatmate we keep going Yeah instead of Yes. And then we nod our heads, we Indians nod our head sideways and the Japanese nod it vertically. And we realize we are adapting and we realize that you know, that's not what we originally did. But over a period of time, you adapt and we do it only when we talk to them. So you know somewhere we are unconsciously segregating like you know with this person this is the kind of jargon I should use or body language I should use. – Vidya (London, 21st July, 2009)

In an attempt to better fit in their social environment, Vidya and her friends had begun to adapt to each others' gestures and body language. In comparison, students like Tanvi did not interact with her flatmates because she felt that she needed to focus on her studies during her sojourn in London (London, 6th August, 2009). On the contrary, although Shankar felt that he needed to concentrate on his coursework, his main social space (comprising of Indian and other international students) was the campus as was evidenced from his photographs. Therefore, the study does not intend to claim that all students living in student residences had multinational friendship networks.

Conclusions

For Indian students, the feeling of belonging within the 'spaces of encounter' in the university has wider implications and is deeply connected to other local and global places, as well as their identities as international students. Unlike domestic students who "experience campus life as transients and migrants" (Jessop *et al*, 2012: 198) thinking of the university as a temporary place which is visited for a particular purpose (Temple, 2007), international students can be considered insiders (Holdsworth, 2009). Like other academics who might perceive the university as their second home (Temple,

2007), international students too, create a sense of place for themselves within the space of the university because their identities in their current locations are tightly bound with this space. This destabilizes the idea of temporariness/permanency and therefore questions the static identities of migrants/non-migrants.

The university spaces are conceptualized as social and residential, apart from the obvious function of being an academic space. Feeling at home/not home within the formal and informal spaces of learning is achieved by connecting with their experiences of similar spaces of pedagogic activities in India. These situate Indian students' experiences as different from other international students owing to their comfort with the English language. Simultaneously, the overlaps between the social, residential, and academic spaces of the university were central to the discussion. Feeling at home/not home also depends upon the presence of 'flexible spaces' which act as an interstitial space between the formal academic space of the classroom and the informal residential space of the kitchen. The significance of the campus in the everyday life of the international student has been articulated in this chapter.

The shared kitchen as a common area is a more public space (with exceptions) where students socialize and entertain and study together. The (bed) room however, is a more private space and the local and transnational social/friendship networks play out differently in these spaces. The next chapter deals with the dwelling space of the students living on campus and off campus. This pertains to the broader understandings of home and belonging at the domestic scale.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Home away from home: Making home through senses, memories, and material objects

Introduction

Figure 66: Window in Nayantara's room

> ... my window and my lovely curtains. [...] This was right after my mom sent me those curtains and they were bought during the [Durga] Pujas in Kolkata [...] and it goes with the decor very well. I have this orange and yellow. Actually, the cushions were also sent from home. [...] I think [name of friend] went [to Kolkata] and that's how I got it. [...] My window is pretty great! It gives a lot of light in my room, it wakes me up in the morning and I am a creature whose clockwork is like the sun. So in the summer, I have no problems getting up in the morning simply because the daylight comes in and in the winter, I find it so difficult to wake up even at 8 because it's dark outside ... – Nayantara (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

The significance of the window in the everyday life of Nayantara is multi-layered. First, the curtains on the window were bought by her mother in Kolkata during the Durga Pujas. In Bengal Durga Puja is a ten-day long celebration of the Goddess Durga. It is celebrated with much enthusiasm throughout the state and in Kolkata; it is

synonymous with an urban festival (Ghosh, 2000; Bhattacharya, 2007). The cultural connotation of buying the curtains during the festive season owes its importance to the tradition of buying new clothes and household accessories during the time. It is through the materiality of the curtains that Nayantara is able to connect to her hometown in Kolkata and (vicariously) to the seasonal festivities on the one hand, and is simultaneously able to sustain her transnational ties with her mother, on the other hand. She is able to maintain connections with her mother and sensory, mnemonic connections with the city with the help of her friend from Toronto. On her last visit to Kolkata she had ordered the curtains which were later sent by her mother. Secondly, buying curtains and cushions keeping the colour scheme of the room in mind also indicates the effort put in creating a personal(ized) space. Such home-making practices are an intimate part of feeling at home/not at home within the space of the dwelling. Finally, the importance of the window also has an embodied dimension as it relates to presence/absence of light and how that can have an impact on not only one's biological rhythm (as stated by Nayantara) but can also affect the emotions of the people within (as will be discussed later in the chapter). The example of the window helps bring together the sensory, mnemonic, and emotional aspects of home-making within the dwelling space.

The main argument developed in this chapter is that home is the site of multi-scalar and multi-sited connections with people; and home-making is the process of creating, re-creating, and sustaining these connections through a combination of sensory, emotional, and mnemonic everyday practices with the help of tools like material objects, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), and friendship networks.

The ways in which the domestic spaces of the dwelling are experienced by men and women differ greatly and these gender differences in home-making practices form the

crux of this chapter. Other factors such as religious belief, marital status, age, residence status and duration complicate home-making further. Taking Blunt and Dowling's (2006) view of home being a 'process' for migrants as the starting point, the chapter is situated within the wider literature on home and migration. I shall focus on the sensory geographies (Rodaway, 1994) of home (Pink, 2004) which are evoked through memories (Walsh, 2006; Butcher, 2010a) and in turn, re-created through material objects (Tolia-Kelly, 2004) like photographs (Rose, 2003, 2004). Transnational connections with an originary home (Butcher, 2009; Nowicka, 2007) are maintained with the help of ICT (Wilding, 2006; Collins, 2009a; Skop and Adams, 2009; Adams and Ghose, 2003; Longhurst, 2013), while simultaneously establishing new translocal connections (Brickell and Datta, 2011) through friendship networks (Conradson and Latham, 2005).

The main theme of the chapter is that home is a site of connections between people in different places in different time(s). The acts of creating, re-creating, and maintaining these connections are played out within the space of the home, through home-making practices. Home-making is located within the overlapping spaces of memories, senses, and material objects; many of which are related to a home in India. These different aspects of home-making will be elaborated in the four main sections of the chapter. The first section deals with how the senses of taste, sight, sound, touch and smell play an important role through which the idea of home is understood and re-created from memories. Through these senses, Indian students connect with home at different scales from the individual, to the house, to the nation. The second section focuses on the significance of material objects which are an intrinsic part of feeling at home. The material objects are given meaning through their everyday practice within the space of the home, and which in turn attribute meaning to the lives of the Indian students. They

are reminders of what constitutes home as a familiar space and re-establish their identities in a space which is temporary and detached from familiar social relations. For Indian students, their primary social relations are in India and these are maintained through transnational ties. Transnational connections are maintained with the help of ICT. However, home is about connecting a past and a present, a distant and a local. Hence, translocal ties are created within the space of the home as well. The significance of translocal and transnational connections is the focus of Section 7.3. The final section is about an aspect of the everyday life of the Indian students within domestic space. Apart from the different articulations of 'home' for the Indian students, the window also becomes a part of their everyday experiences of home/not home on the one hand, and also helps locate themselves within the space of their dwelling as a part of the wider city and campus outside. The discussion provides a view of the world outside from within the walls of the room, thereby adding to the argument of the home being a site of multiple connections.

For most students, their 'home' was a single room within shared accommodation (i.e. an apartment or a house), as a part of the university (on campus or away from it) or in a private rented housing situation. It is important to situate the room of Indian students in different kinds of residences. The differences and similarities between the living conditions of students in London and Toronto, and among students living in each city, will be discussed in the following section. I begin by contextualizing the dwelling spaces of the students in different university residences in London and Toronto.

7.1. Contextualizing dwelling spaces

A total of 14 students in London and 11 students in Toronto lived in student residences provided by the universities. In terms of the dwelling, three students—Gitanjali, Rohan, and Kiran (all in Toronto) lived in studio apartments or bachelor apartments (Fig. 63) belonging to the graduate student residence buildings of YU (See Table 14).

Table 14		
Residence details		
Location and distance from university	**Type of residence**	**Participants**
YU campus	Shared apartment: University graduate residence.	Madan, Prasanna, Praveen, Shruti, Tarun
	University non-shared graduate residence (studio apartment).	Amitav, Kiran, Rohan, Gitanjali
QM campus	University halls. Shared kitchen and bathroom with other flatmates. Private bedroom.	Shankar, Tanvi
	Shared flat above St. Benet's Chaplaincy.	Teresa
5- 10 minutes walking distance	University halls. Shared kitchen and bathroom with other flatmates. Private bedroom.	Murthi
	Private shared apartment.	Narayanan, Rishi
	University Co-operative housing. Shared kitchen and bathroom with a total of eight other housemates. Private room.	Monica
	University halls. Shared kitchen and bathroom with other flatmates. Private	Josh

In the city. 10-20 minutes walking distance.	bedroom.	
	Private non-shared apartment.	Saurav
	Private shared apartment.	Nayantara, Raj, Eeshwar, Narayanan, Soroshi
In the city. Up to 30 minutes walking distance.	University halls. Shared kitchen and bathroom with other flatmates. Private bedroom.	Anuradha, Lakshmi, Vidya, Vivek, Anjali, Nisha, Anthony
In the city. More than 30 minutes walking	Private shared house with other housemates.	Gautam, Pooja
	University halls. Shared kitchen and bathroom with other flatmates. Private bedroom.	Richa, Anirban, Indranil
	Private shared apartment with husband/girlfriend.	Khushi, Sahil

Although there were different kinds of living arrangements, the design of the residences in UK and those of U of T (in Canada) resembled the suite-style (Rodger & Johnson, 2005). At YU, the residences resembled the more individualized 'flat-sharing' (Garmendia *et al*, 2012) system.

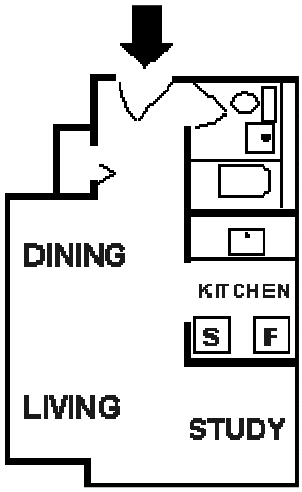

Figure 67: Floor plan of studio/bachelor apartment at YU[84]

The reasons for living alone were varied. Gitanjali was living with her husband before he moved to Minnesota. Kiran wanted to live alone because she did not want to share her space with anyone as she had done in her student days in New Delhi. Rohan had had some difficult experiences of sharing space with roommates and had moved into a studio apartment. They all had an entire unit at their disposal with their personal bathroom, kitchen and living room. Amitav lived in a one-bedroom apartment in university accommodation (Fig. 68).

[84] http://www.yorku.ca/stuhouse/yorkapts/assiniboine.htm (Last accessed: February 17, 2012). The floor plan is from the university website. This is furnished apartment with S-Stove, F- Fridge, and a sofa-cum-bed provided in the area demarcated as the living area.

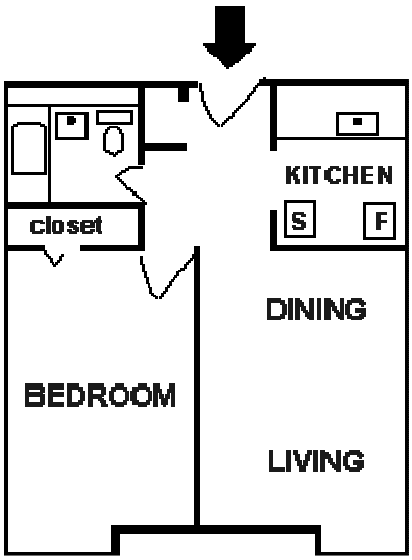

Figure 68: Floor plan of one-bedroom apartment at YU [85]

He had not opted for a shared apartment because he had anticipated his wife's arrival from India. The YU website did not have information about the size of the rooms, but having conducted a number of interviews in the students' apartments, I was able to gauge their size. A studio apartment was approximately 16ft. x 18ft. in a typically L-shape design, including the kitchenette and excluding the bathroom. Rooms of one-bedroom apartments in YU (like those of Amitav, Shruti, Tarun, Praveen, Prasanna, and Madan) had rooms which were approximately 10ft. x 13ft. Josh lived in a graduate residence of U of T (Fig. 69) and his room according to the website was about 9ft. x 14ft. (Fig. 70).

[85] http://www.yorku.ca/stuhouse/yorkapts/assiniboine.htm (Last accessed: February 17, 2012)

Figure 69: Josh's bedroom at U of T residence

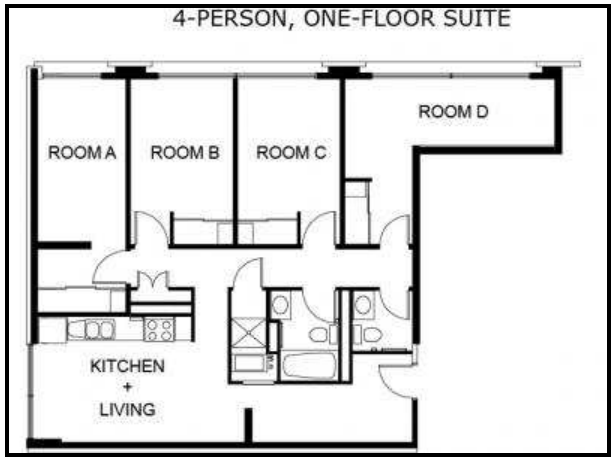

Figure 70: Floor plan of a 'cluster flat' at U of T[86]

Monica lived in a room in the co-operative housing of the University of Toronto, which was approximately 12ft. x 10ft. (see Fig. 71).

[86] http://ghcommunity.info/gradhouse/ (Last accessed: February 17, 2012). The same floor plan was available in the following website: gradhouse.utoronto.ca/plan (Last accessed: June 08, 2014)

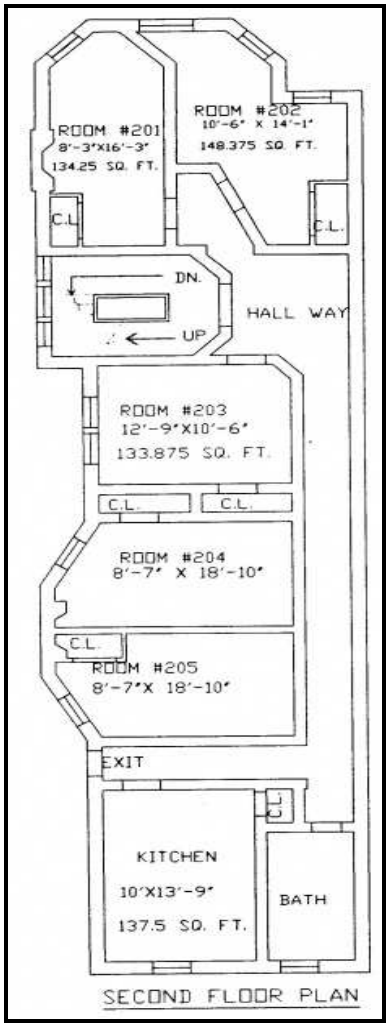

Figure 71: Floor plan of co-operative housing at U of T [87]

Josh lived in a 'cluster flat' of four bedrooms, which was similar to the arrangements of a typical student residence in London. Students in London often referred to the size of the rooms by using words like "matchbox" (Interview with Nisha, London, 6th June, 2009). But they also agreed that despite the small size, the rooms met all the requirements of a single student. Irrespective of whether the students were from SOAS, Imperial College, UCL, LSE, or QMUL, their rooms were approximately the same size. Although no floor plans could be found of the rooms of any of the colleges

[87] http://www.campus.coop/gallery?aid=28&page=2 (last accessed: February 16, 2012). When accessed on June 08, 2014, the floor plan was not available as the website had changed to http://www.campus.coop/index.php/houses/annex/612-huron#

of University of London, I can say from my visits of the rooms that they were approximately the same. According to the SOAS housing website[88], the rooms are approximately 8ft. x 13ft., which was significantly smaller than the shared apartments in Toronto. While the LSE and SOAS residences had ensuite bathrooms, their counterparts in UCL, QMUL and Imperial College had shared bathrooms.

Although YU offers unfurnished apartments, all the students interviewed in Toronto lived in the furnished ones. The basic furniture included in the YU apartments were a bed, a desk, two chairs, a small table, a dresser, curtains, a stove, a fridge, and an oven[89]. Sahil, Khushi, Nayantara, Saurav, and Raj lived in private rented apartments in downtown Toronto. Sahil's apartment was "not a very big place" (Interview, Toronto, 23rd December, 2009) and was a part of the attic which had been converted into a two-bedroom apartment with a kitchenette-dining area and a bathroom. Since he lived with his girlfriend, he used one of the bedrooms as a study. Khushi mentioned that her private rented one-bedroom apartment in downtown Toronto was not furnished and she had acquired furniture from her friends. Although Khushi's bedroom was about 10ft. x 12ft., she had an open-plan kitchen and dining-living space (Fig. 72) which was ideal for entertaining friends.

[88] http://www.smsstudent.co.uk/dinwiddyhouse.asp (last accessed: February 16, 2012)
http://www.smsstudent.co.uk/paulrobesonhouse.asp (last accessed: February 16, 2012)
[89] http://www.yorku.ca/stuhouse/yorkapts/assiniboine.htm (Last access: February 17, 2012)

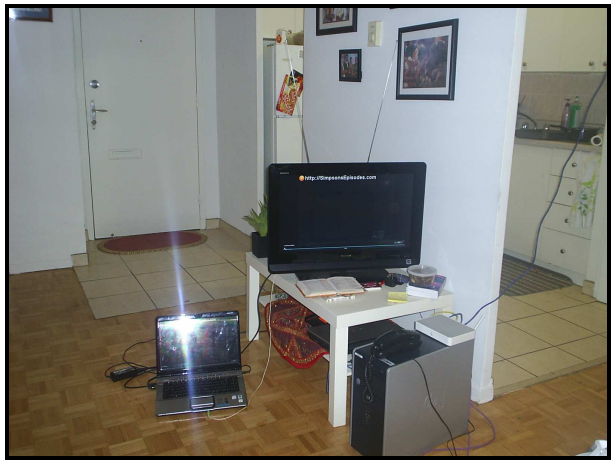

Figure 72: Khushi's open plan kitchen and living room

The photograph shows part of the living room in the foreground, with the main entrance of the apartment in the background. On the right hand side of the photograph is a wall against which the television is placed. This wall separates the kitchen on the right hand side from the living room. Furnished or semi-furnished apartments seemed to be the norm in Toronto. Nayantara had expressed her surprise at finding her apartment furnished, although she did not have a bed for about four months. This was different from her experience at Rutgers. Raj's was a two-bedroom apartment as opposed to Nayantara's one-bedroom apartment. He described his room as having the basic necessities.

> ... It's hardly equipped with anything. It's just empty, we just have two plates and two glasses for each one of us and I have a mattress and a table. That's it. So, it's bare minimum amount of stuff. – Raj (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

But, according to Raj, this did not bother him, even though it was in stark contrast with his house in India (where he lived with his wife), because he only came back to his apartment to sleep at night. This was contrary to Saurav's view of his two-bedroom apartment in which he lived alone. He felt that he needed the space to himself.

Internet facility was provided in the student residences in London and Toronto. These were mostly through cable sockets attached into walls. This meant that there was limited scope to move the furniture around (Kiran, 22nd November, 2009). In London and Toronto, laundry facilities were provided within the buildings, or as in the case of Shankar's residence, at a short walking distance (London, 3rd July, 2009). The internet facility was included in the rent in the London residences, which meant that students had instant access to the internet (Tanvi, 13th July, 2009). At YU, students needed to apply for it separately. This meant that they had to wait for a day for it to be activated after application (Khushi, 20th November, 2009). It is common in London to sign a 51 or 52 week contract with the university, and monthly payment of rent. At the U of T, rent had to be paid for an academic year. At YU, the rent was posted on the personal account of each student who could move the money around and pay the rent when convenient (Rohan, 25th September, 2009). Sahil had had difficulty in finding a place to live in downtown Toronto especially because he was an international student and landlords were sceptical in renting out to him. Students living in the YU apartments mentioned reduced lighting in the rooms (Bille and Sorensen, 2007). Except for the overhead light, no other lamps are provided. This made for poor lighting in the apartments. No such complaints were heard from London students. Despite the differences and similarities in the living conditions of the students in London and Toronto, the chapter will focus on how Indian students make themselves at home in the domestic space of their dwellings.

7.2. Home-making through emotions, memories, and senses

> ... There used to be this advertisement of Asian Paints [in Indian television] which used to say '*har ghar kuchh kehta hai ki ismein kaun rehta hai*'. That kind of has stuck with me for the longest. So, the kind of bed covers I choose, the kind of cushion covers I choose, the kind of photo frames I choose, the photos I choose, everything I have in my house, is picked up because it's me ... – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

The Hindi tagline of an advertisement for Asian Paints which Khushi referred to loosely translates as 'every home is a reflection of the people living in it'. Khushi's apartment in downtown Toronto was full of identity and reflected her and her husband's personalities. She had mentioned later in the interview how mindful she was about sharing space with her husband and making sure that both their belongings were displayed and how everything had a place. Khushi's home-making practices were a reflection of how the practice of feeling at home is actively created and how this is intricately related to memories of a home (Cieraad, 2010) in India. This section will focus on the sensory, emotional, and mnemonic nature of home-making practices. To begin, I situate the students within the space of the dwelling by continuing the discussion on the physical space of the room. Within the space of the dwelling, the window, as an architectural interface (Garvey, 2005) appeared to have a significant place in the lives of the students, as it generated emotional responses, thereby creating a sense of home/not home.

7.2.1. Home/not home through emotions

Figure 73: View from Shankar's window

> ... These are pics from my room. That's generally what I get to see. Generally on and off I look outside the window. – Shankar (London, 3rd July, 2009)

Looking out of the window of his shared apartment, Shankar could see the campus buildings. It was a view which had become familiar to him because it was part of his everyday life. But at the same time, it was an alien environment. The architecture and the people walking past reminded him constantly that he was in London. Judith Thomsen's (2007) article on the impact of architectural design of student housing on the feeling of home among the inhabitants is the theoretical starting point for this section. In this context, it can be said that the window is an aperture connecting "inhabitants and enclosed dwelling places with the world in different ways" (Jacobs and Merriman, 2011: 214). There has been a dearth of discussion on windows in Geography (Jacobs *et al*, 2006). When windows are discussed, they are usually viewed as display frames (Cieraad, 2010), usually looking inward from the street (Garvey, 2005). Except Jacobs *et al*'s (2006) study which is about the significance of windows for residents of a high-rise building, these studies do not consider the window viewed from inside the room. For Indian students, the window acts as an interface (Garvey, 2005) between the world outside from the interior of their rooms.

For this sub-section, I shall focus on all these aspects of the window as well as discuss the emotional qualities of the students' rooms. The window represents the dis/connections with the outside and inside of home, and which in turn relates to ideas of alienation/belonging, and sense of freedom for Indian students.

> ... I had a great view of the CN Tower from my bedroom window. It was on the 12th floor. It was amazing. I just loved that place[90]. – Rohan (Toronto, 25th September, 2009)

The CN Tower is the symbol of Toronto and to be able to view it every day from the comfort of his room was something that first attracted Rohan's attention. There are many layers of meaning within this statement. First, it shows the excitement that Rohan felt in being in Canada the view of the CN Tower being a constant reminder of his migration. Additionally, it also demonstrates his desire to explore the city and world outside, which the regular sighting of the CN Tower from his bedroom window afforded him. Finally, and not least of all, the statement has a positive tone to it, which further indicates Rohan's view of himself within the context of his home space. However, Rohan's positivity might be attributed to the excitement he felt upon his arrival. For Praveen, the novelty of migration was soon replaced by monotony and boredom.

[90] He had since moved out of the shared apartment and lived alone.

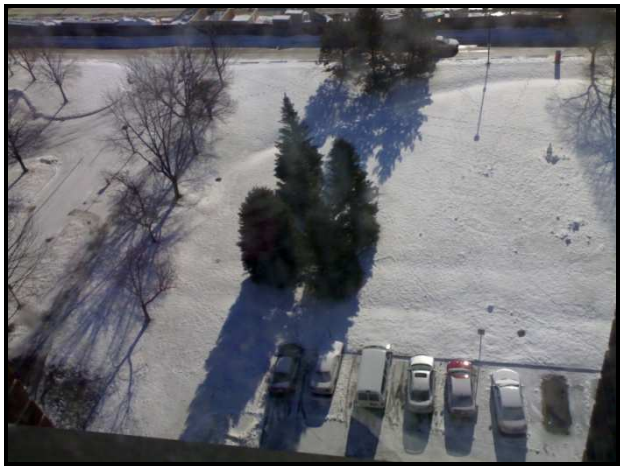

Figure 74: Watching the changing seasons outside

> ... This is the view from our apartment. It kind of shows the seasons in Toronto, what kind of weather we have and everyday sitting inside and studying, you get bored and don't know what to do. And you look outside the window and all you see is the same view and then you have the CN Tower always like, there. So I just clicked it like that. Look at the poor cars! – Praveen (Toronto, 29th January, 2010)

The view of the CN Tower which had fascinated Rohan when he first saw it from his bedroom window turned into an eyesore for Praveen after a few months. In a series of photographs depicting the changing seasons which he witnesses from his window of his apartment on the 10th floor, Praveen captured the scene outside the comfort of his dwelling. In a photograph which showed the same landscape covered in a thick fog, Praveen explained the motive behind taking the photograph by saying "You woke up one day and you looked outside and you went like, 'what's going on?' So you clicked a picture" (Interview on 29th January, 2010). The seasons were different from what he was accustomed to. He described his excitement at seeing snow for the first time.

Experiencing the weather only visually from the within the confines of the room depicts the feeling of alienation that the students feel from their 'foreign' surroundings outside. Tarun had expressed his "irritation" with the weather because it had been "snowing, snowing, snowing for a couple of days" and he had been "locked up in the

room" and could not go out anywhere because he did not have a car (Tarun, Toronto, 29th January, 2010). Indian students are more accustomed to seeing the sun more frequently, and the extreme weather conditions such as that of Toronto can be a cause of much consternation. It further alienates them from their surroundings in a more embodied way. In contrast, students in London had mixed reactions to the weather. Rishi claimed that he did not like living "in dark places" (Bille and Sorensen, 2007) and so was happy with the "two big windows" in his room because they were the source of light (London, Interview on 2nd July, 2009). Anjali (in London) and Kiran (in Toronto) had both commented on how little the windows opened in the university residences. Anjali had gone further to ratioanlize this anomaly by saying that it was possibly because students were prone to committing suicide (London, Interview on 30th June, 2009). Anirban seemed frustrated at how little the windows opened outwards (Fig. 75). Anirban thought that the window not opening wider was an inexplicable structural flaw.

Figure 75: The narrow opening in residence windows

> ... and I have one window which hardly opens. It tilts to a degree of five degrees only. It's very strange and illogical [...] because somehow in the summers it becomes so hot and still you can't open the windows and no air comes in. – Anirban (London, 10th July, 2009)

The importance of a light and airy room in creating a sense of home was mentioned by several students in London and Toronto, with dark spaces associated with negative moods and a feeling of being constricted. Amitav mentioned how he did not feel comfortable studying in his apartment because the windows were too small and did not allow enough light inside. This motivated him to make his way to the campus library where he had found a spot near the big windows. He felt that he could concentrate better in natural light (Toronto, Interview on 22nd January, 2010).

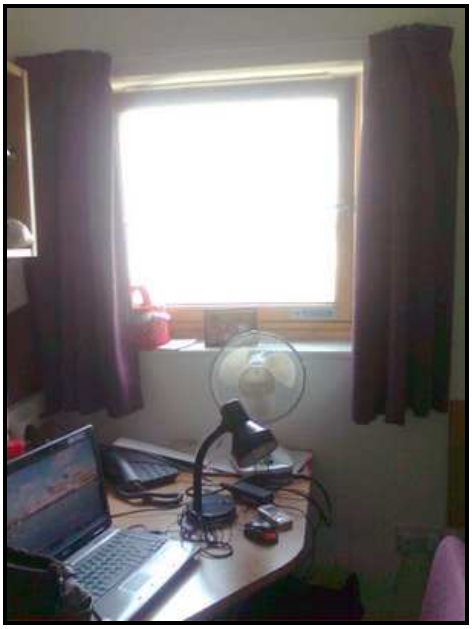

Figure 76: A window generates positivity

> ... Window! Oh, a very important part of my room. I don't know [why but] without a window, you feel really claustrophobic and you feel like you are in a prison. Window shows you light because you get ample sunlight here. It's good. I think the window is a very important part [of my life]. [...] I look at the sky, [it] gives me some peace of mind ... – Richa (London, 22nd July, 2009)

Richa echoes Bille and Sorensen's (2007) study about the relationship between natural and ample light and the feeling of home. Kiran had shared a photograph which showed a wire mesh on the windows which gave her a feeling of not only being alienated from the world outside, but being boxed in. Kiran made a direct comparison with her previous residences in India where there was always ample space with open balconies and terraces. As a result, she constantly felt the need for fresh air. The structure of the window itself added to her feeling of isolation and she felt imprisoned inside what she called "pigeon holes" (Kiran, Toronto, 22nd November, 2009). Also the wire net did not allow her to connect with the world outside.

Soroshi was the only exception to the above discussion about feeling alienated from the outside world. Soroshi shared a house with a Bangladeshi family in north-west London. Compared to other student residences in London and Toronto, Soroshi's living experience was different because she lived in a neighbourhood with a significant South Asian population.

Figure 77: Window as a connection to the outside world

> … [S]pecifically I took this window picture because I love my window and every morning I always walk towards my window and I look outside. The area where I live is very Asian. I don't feel like I am in London because it's so Indian. It's full of these Asian shops,

> so just every morning I look outside, I want to feel like I am in India though I am here ... and the best thing is when you look outside the window, people can't see you. You can see them, but they can't see you and they are unaware of someone who's watching them. That's the best thing. – Soroshi (22nd August, 2009)

Soroshi found out that the window was how she could view the world without being seen. She indulged in this voyeuristic pleasure and observed the street outside (Cieraad, 1999). It was almost like a daily ritual she performed every morning after waking up. The neighbourhood that she lived in had many Asian shops. The sounds and smells seemed familiar, but only briefly transported her to India.

> ... I feel constricted, so I keep looking outside the window [...] I just go to the window and look outside. That's why I have always chosen higher floors. My floor is number 11. So you can see the entire lots of buildings and you can see far. You looking at the longest distance possible is really important. So standing at the window gives me that good feeling that 'yes, I am part of this world'. So [I am] not alone in a small place, restricted ... – Amitav (Toronto, 17th December, 2009)

Amitav had always lived in a house and suddenly having to live in a one-bedroom apartment made him uncomfortable. The window gave him some respite from this sense of being cooped up. He liked staring into the distance, into a view that was alien to him, and yet, he did not mind that because he felt that he belonged to something which was more than his apartment. Analysing this more deeply, it can be stated that this feeling of being isolated from the rest of the world occurs among migrants who feel a cultural distance from their host countries. The histories, geographies, and sociality of India are familiar to the point of being mundane. Canada, in this case, is distant because he is still unfamiliar with it. The act of gazing out into the distance from a height of eleven floors can also be read as viewing the city outside from a distance and height which detaches himself from his immediate surroundings, and yet leaves his view open to all the opportunities of the city out there waiting to be

explored. Although he is aware of his financial and mobility constraints, he hopes that someday he will have the freedom to explore all those unknown places on the horizon.

Figure 78: Window symbolizing freedom

> ... The door [sic] to freedom because if I could fly then I would probably fly out of this window. – Murthi (London, 1st July, 2009)

Murthi had expressed his dissatisfaction with his life in London in more ways than one. He had stated that "No, except for my room, I don't like anything else ..." (London, 1st July, 2009). So it was not a surprise that he was one among the three men who had shared photographs of their rooms. Also, he had decorated his room with posters and other memorabilia that he had brought from India. Having said that, he claimed that his home was in Delhi and nothing could change that. He seemed to resist getting accustomed to his environment, while simultaneously making his room more like home "so that it doesn't make you feel that your room is bare" (London, 1st July, 2009). These contradictions while articulating 'home' indicate that home is a 'process', rather than an end-point.

7.2.2. Home-making by re-creating memories

In order to understand the relationship between memories of a past and distant home to the present home and feeling at home/not at home within the dwelling, I shall begin

with an account of a goat as narrated by Khushi. The story of Indumati the goat illustrates how memory plays an important role in the understanding of home and in turn, its re-creation.

Figure 79: Indumati, the string puppet

> ... I just loved her and I just miss her just too much. When we came here, M [her husband] and I went to this festival, which happens in St. Lawrence market. It was more like a theatre slash street performance kind of a festival. There was this one person there who had these puppets with him and one of the things was this sheep and the moment I saw it, it reminded me of Indu. So then I took it and kept it here. – Khushi (Toronto, 4th December, 2009)

Indumati, or Indu as Khushi lovingly called it, was a goat who lived in her mother-in-law's farm in Tanjore. Indumati had been abandoned by its mother and so it used to wander into their house during meal times. Usually, Khushi's mother-in-law would give her some milk every day. But once Khushi had given her milk and had enjoyed seeing her lapping it all up. From that day a bond was created between the two. Indu would bleat for Khushi when it was hungry and she was more than happy to feed it. After arriving in Toronto, Khushi missed Indu. So, when she saw the puppet at the market, although it was a sheep, Khushi felt that it resembled Indu and had bought it. By this simple act, Khushi re-created her fond memories of home in India, thereby establishing a connection between her two homes in India and Toronto. This is similar to Tolia-

Kelly's (2004) discussion of a painting of a boy in English countryside, in a South Asian diasporic home. The painting represented childhood memories of Uganda. Just as Tolia-Kelly's interviewee had projected her memories of a different place and time to a painting in a different context, so had Khushi transferred her memories of Indumati the goat onto the puppet of a sheep which she had bought in Toronto.

Unlike Khushi who had consciously bought the puppet because it reminded her of her favourite goat in India, sometimes, the practice of making home can be a subconscious act (Walsh, 2006). Monica mentioned in the second interview that she had realized that she had subconsciously decorated her room from her memories of home in India. According to her, it was not until she spoke about it during the first interview that she realized that she compared it to the way her mother decorated her parental home in Kolkata. Also, she spoke about how her mother loved the colour of porcelain blue and how she had projected that 'homely' feel into her room in Toronto. Monica's room had two colours—pink and blue. The walls were pink, the bedcover was blue, and the paintings on her walls were shades of blue (Fig. 80). Her room looked immaculate and when I asked her whether it was because she was going to take a photograph to share with me her response was—"No, my bed is always like that. When I leave the room to go anywhere I always clean the room up. You can come in here every day and it looks the same. That's because every time I come back, I want to come back to a perfect room." (Monica, Interview in Toronto, 23rd December, 2009). Continuing the conversation, I had asked her what she meant by a "perfect room".

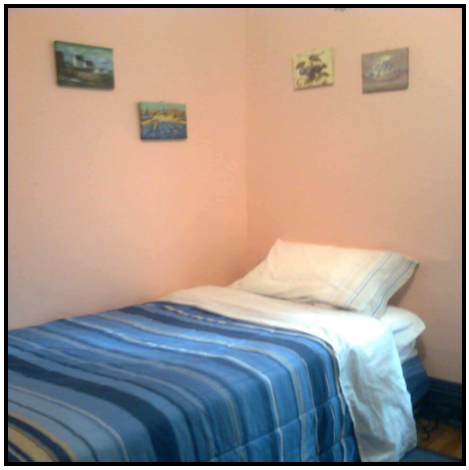

Figure 80: Monica's "perfect room"

> Subhadra: What's a perfect room?
> *Monica*: In the sense that it has to be orderly and clean. I can't come back to a room that's a mess. It doesn't remind me of home then, you know?
> Subhadra: And this reminds you of home? To come back to a clean room?
> *Monica*: Absolutely. Because we used to go to school in the morning and when we would come back, the beds were all done and everything was cleaned and dusted. And everything was orderly. And we would never sit on the bed the whole day because we wouldn't want to ruffle the sheets.
> Toronto (23rd December, 2009)

Monica actively engaged with her memory of her childhood room in India, and how she loved to find everything in order when she returned from school. As a child, the transformation of her room almost seemed magical to her. She continued to keep her room tidy while growing up, and transferred those practices when she moved to Canada. So, she actively re-created her sense of home in concrete and tangible ways in her residence in Toronto. However, home-making is not simply about emulating an originary home (Walsh, 2006). It is also about making something new. It is about a combination of a distant/past home and a current home in a different country.

According to Vidya, her room was simultaneously similar to and dissimilar from her house in India. She also indicated that her room was a reflection of her identity and

that is how she liked personalizing her space, even though it might be different, and perhaps more chaotic than her house in India.

> ... My room is a very clear indicator of what I am. It's very encompassing. It's a lot like my mother's house but very different. It's very structured. She wouldn't have these random postcards. I like to create an atmosphere, like when I am sitting here at night, I like to put on those fairy lights or I'd light up candles, put on the lavender scent and have some nice music playing. This is not where I work. This is where I relax and live. – Vidya (London, 21st July, 2009)

Earlier in the interview Vidya had recollected how in the initial days of moving in to the student halls, she had wanted to move out because she could not relate to her room. She had found it difficult to concentrate because of the limited space, which was much smaller than her room in India. This was echoed by others like Kiran (Toronto) and Eeshwar (London). Kiran had compared her room in Toronto with open spaces of Indian houses (discussed in Section 5.4) and Eeshwar had called his room "a rehabilitation centre" and "a dungeon" (London, 13th July 2009). This was because he felt that he did not have enough space to move around, and the only common area was the kitchen where he felt that he needed to be appropriately dressed because it was a semi-private space, which also instilled an air of semi-formality to the space. He had not felt at home in the campus student residence and as a result had moved out. Unlike Eeshwar, Vidya had not moved out of her student residence. Instead, she had taken the advice of her father and made her room in London like her room in India by personalizing the space through posters, fairy lights and other memorabilia from home. This way, she had avoided the inconvenience of finding a new place, of moving, and of settling down again.

Making home is about personalization, and that can mean leaving the room a mess. Male students in Toronto like Prasanna, Bhushan, and Praveen spoke about their rooms being messy most of the time (Daniels, 2001).

> I tend to keep it clean but it tends to get messy. Bachelor's room, right? -- Prasanna (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)
>
> A lot of mess. Lot of wires lying around here and there, undone sheets, messy study table. Only I can find things lying there. There is a single sofa and I use it to keep my clothes. Cupboard is for clean clothes and things. – Praveen (Toronto, 23rd January, 2010)
>
> Mess. My room. [...] I know where everything is, so I can pick it up. But if someone else comes in my room, then he or she will be confused. So, in that way I am organized, even if it is disorganized. – Bhushan (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

The contested relationship between masculinity and housework (Gorman-Murray, 2008) is reflected in the above examples. However, this gendered relationship was challenged by Nayantara (in Toronto) and Anruadha (in London). While conducting the first interview with Nayantara in her living room, she hesitated in showing me her room (Ellis, 2003), saying:

> ... Room. Big mess. I think there's a difference between dirty and messy. (Toronto, 5th December, 2009)

By making a distinction between 'messy' and 'dirty', she was possibly indicating her student lifestyle, while clarifying that she was not a poor housekeeper. Anuradha felt that by leaving her room a mess, it felt "homey" (London, 24th July, 2009). Anuradha's room can be held in direct contrast to Monica's room. While for Monica, leaving her room in the 'perfect condition' made it feel like home, Anuradha did the opposite to achieve the same result.

Figure 81: Anuradha's "homey" room

... I like my room. So, right from the start I tried to make it homey. Right from the time I arrived. – Anuradha (London, 24th July, 2009)

The above discussion gives alternate views about home and home-making. For Indian students in London and Toronto, home-making is intricately related to their memory of home in India. Simultaneously, it is about a personal space which is beyond the scrutiny of outsiders, and therefore is 'made' in a way that is comfortable for them to live in.

7.2.3. Home and the senses

In this section I discuss how home-making is intrinsically related to the five senses. Needless to say, one cannot separate the senses from memory, because, in fact, in most cases, the senses are triggers of memory. They are an intrinsic part of memory. The home is re-created through the help of the five senses in meaningful and tangible/intangible ways.

As Ho and Hatfield (2011) have noted, the minute details that constitute the everyday have become such an intrinsic and 'naturalised' part of life that they cease to remain remarkable. Such mundanity is found in the everyday values attached to certain objects by the Indian students. These objects are of immense significance because they travel

long distances from different cities in India to the homes of Indian students in London and Toronto. To the question: 'what did you bring from home?' the two objects that were most frequently mentioned were the pressure cooker and the idol of Lord Ganesha.

> ... Oh yes! That [pressure cooker] was the first thing that I kept inside. Without rice I can't [survive]. So whatever be the case, I made space for the pressure cooker, then I kept my clothes ... – Prasanna (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

Most Indian students seemed quite prepared to face the difficulties upon their arrival in a foreign country. This can be attributed to the fact that most students mentioned having relatives in the US or UK. Although other students in London had mentioned a group on Facebook through which they made some initial friends, the level of support that the MBA students in YU received from the SABC was extremely helpful for the students. For MBA students in YU, the main source of pre-departure information was other Indian students of the previous year with whom they communicated through emails and skype before they left for India. Not only did the students arrange their roommates and accommodation from India[91], they had even discussed the things that they had to bring from India.

> ... Some people even asked things like 'how many jeans do you want me to carry?' and 'how often do you wash your jeans over there?' So we knew everything in detail. How many pressure cookers we should be carrying? We even knew about the rubber [safety valve] thing [...] but we knew that you don't get it here. So we had to bring [an extra one] from India. So we knew all these minute details also ... – Madan (Toronto, 21st December, 2009)

Unlike the pre-departure concerns of Turkish students in Brown and Aktas' (2011) study, Indian students seemed to be more concerned with 'food shock' (Brown and Aktas, 2011) as one of the major issues in the initial days after arrival. To counteract

[91] Some of the incoming MBA students had met in India through the same network, making it easier for them to choose their roommates

the effects of this, students brought along several ready-to-eat food and a device that Vidya called 'every Indian's cooking accessory' (Interview, 9th June, 2009), the pressure cooker. It is almost as if the Indian national identity is linked to this cooking apparatus.

The emotional and embodied relationship between migrants, home, and food has been widely documented in various settings (Law, 2001; Kneafsey and Cox, 2002), belonging (Duruz, 2002), and its significance in the lives of international students (Collins, 2008; Brown *et al*, 2010). Locher *et al* (2005) also stress upon the fact that 'comfort foods' can become an object of nostalgia for sojourners. Collins (2008) discusses the importance of food in the lives of South Korean international students in Auckland. He focuses on the social aspect of cooking and eating together[92]. Brown *et al*'s (2010) study on the other hand, analyzed in great detail the relationship that international students have with familiar foods and how that had an impact on their feelings of home in a foreign land. Familiar food was immediately associated with "feelings of comfort and reassurance" (Brown *et al*, 2010: 204). The study also revealed that international students extended their endeavour to 'fit in' to include the food consumed by the locals. This entailed that while they continued having food which was familiar to them, they also adopted different cooking ingredients and styles of the host country. Sometimes, this resulted in more stress of being 'in-between', and sometimes, it resulted in the splitting of the self and the dual existence of both. Upon arrival in an unfamiliar terrain, Indian students were able to (re)materialisze their 'comfort foods' and transform it from a mere 'object of nostalgia' (Locher *et al*, 2005) to a real and tangible sense of belonging. Familiar tastes which are sensory reminders of home, also provide an emotional 'stability and reassurance' (Brown *et al*, 2010). The pressure cooker, in this respect, is the material manifestation of this emotional, sensory, and

[92] For a detailed discussion on the social aspect of food in an urban setting, see Chapter Five.

embodied connection with home. Reflecting upon Prasanna's comment in the beginning of this discussion, it does not seem like he was glorifying the pressure cooker when he stated that while packing for the journey, the pressure cooker was the first thing to go into his suitcase. Being able to eat rice can be a comforting feeling after the initial challenges of cooking it.

> ... but after coming here I realized how difficult it is to even make rice because the pressure here is totally different. The pressure cooker that I got from India, there it was normally for three whistles. Here after three whistles I opened it and still it was all water inside and raw rice. [...] then my flatmate said that here the pressure is very low, so keep it for another 3-4 whistles more. That is how I learned ... – Narayanan (London, 1st July, 2009)

From Narayanan's experience of cooking rice in a pressure cooker, another layer of gendered identity is revealed. For the six women (Khushi, Kiran, Gitanjali, Tanvi, Shruti, Vidya) who brought the pressure cooker from India, it was a necessary time-saving device which would make cooking easier. But the six men (Prasanna, Tarun, Praveen, Vivek, Narayanan, Madan) attached more importance to it because cooking food was mentioned as the most difficult task for them; as was explicated in Narayanan's experience of cooking rice in the pressure cooker. His anecdote is representative of the experiences of other male students[93]. The pressure cooker symbolized a number of things. It symbolized home-cooked food, memories of family (which were refreshed through the recipes shared with mothers), and familiar tastes. In essence, it symbolized several aspects of home.

A direct relationship with food and home was established in many instances where students spoke about 'proper food' and 'proper cooking' (Bell and Valentine, 1997), which was done only occasionally or with friends. Indranil shared an anecdote about a

[93] Rohan was an exception. Although he admitted disliking spending time doing 'unproductive' household chores like cooking and cleaning, he had nevertheless shared stories about hosting potluck parties in his apartment.

friend who had once come to his apartment desperate for some spicy food (Interview in London on 20th May, 2009). The taste of home was synonymous with Indian food (North and South Indian) and quintessentially spicy food (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002). Khushi qualified this by differentiating between Indian spices and spices from other cuisine.

> ... And by spicy I don't mean oregano spicy, I mean red chilli powder, black pepper, *garam masala*[94] spicy. – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

Feeling at home involved getting the food that the students were used to eating (Petridou, 2001). This was not to say that they did not like experimenting with new cuisines, but after a while, they wanted a taste of something familiar (Collins, 2008a), like Prasanna, who had brought spices to cook *Sambhar,* a south Indian dish (Toronto, 21st December, 2009),

Eating practices also differed significantly across gender and between cities. Kiran had cooked for 15 people in Toronto (Toronto, 21st November, 2009), whilst Gautam (Interview in London, 1st September, 2009) loved eating out on a daily basis in London. He justified this by saying that he did not have any other expensive habits. Also, the students showed an ambiguous relationship with cooking. Shruti explained that at home in India, she never had to cook (Toronto, 20th December, 2009). Her mother did all the cooking, and she would seldom help her out. Tanvi went further to say that when she cooked occasionally she would be applauded and encouraged by everyone in the household as opposed to her present situation where she had to cook and eat on her own (London, 13th July, 2009).

[94] *Garam Masala* is a combination of spices such as cardamom, cloves, cinnamon, black and white pepper corns, and nutmeg. The combinations may vary across different regions of the country.

Apart from gender, other factors which had an impact on the cooking practices of the students were the space of the kitchen and the age of the participants. All the students in London lived in shared accommodation, including Eeshwar, Puja, Soroshi, and Narayanan, who lived in privately rented accommodation. This meant that they shared the kitchen with other people, thereby putting limitations on the time spent in the kitchen and on storage space. As a result, most students usually opted for something quick because cooking Indian food is generally time-consuming due to the processes involved. An excerpt from Richa's diary read thus:

16th July, 2009, Thursday: [...] cooked a proper meal

When I asked her what a 'proper meal' (Bell and Valentine, 1997) entailed, she explained that it involved investing some time to chop up vegetables and making a curry, as opposed to having soup from packets, or eating Maggi[95] (Richa, London, 22nd July, 2009). In this case, a 'proper meal' was not defined as one eaten with family (Walsh, 2006) but signified food that required time and effort, and was therefore, fresh and more nutritious (Petridou, 2001) as opposed to the packaged and processed food. Maggi seemed to be a favourite among Indian students, who brought packets of Maggi from India, and also bought them at the local Indian grocery stores (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002). Connecting buying and eating familiar food in different urban spaces with feeling of home has been discussed in detail in Chapter Five (see Section 5.1.2.). Within the space of the dwelling, this connection with familiar food and sense of home is explored further through cooking/eating practices of students. These are similar to the practices of Irish women in Kneafsey and Cox's (2002) study, who bought familiar food products and brands at the local supermarkets to re-create home. The importance

[95] According to the instructions on the packet, it only takes two minutes to cook. Maggi is the trade name of instant noodles which require simply boiling in water and adding the seasoning which comes with it.

of Maggi in the everyday lives of Indian students was not only mentioned in the interviews, it was also illustrated in a photograph that Raj shared. In the foreground is a yellow (Maggi) packet, along with some empty pots on an electric stove.

Figure 82: Instant noodles (Maggi) for dinner

> ... Maggi is a key element of a late-night dinner if nothing else is prepared. Apart from that, I do make a lot of *dal* and rice. I am a very heavy rice-eater but for the last one month, I have been extremely swamped with a lot of work. So it's Maggi or some ready-made food [...] so this photograph here is displaying my dinner. – Raj (Toronto, 24th January, 2010)

Living away from his wife for the first time in 4 years, he found it difficult to cope with cooking and eating on his own (Valentine, 1999). This was in contrast to students like Khushi, whose diary entry for a Saturday showed that she prepared a north Indian breakfast and a south Indian snack in the evening.

> *28th November 2009* [Saturday]
>
> *1.Breakfast: Gobhi Parantha*[96]
> *2.some cleaning*
> *3.Work – PhD*
> *4.D came at 2:30 – left at 6:30 – made vada*[97] *and chutney*

[96] Indian flatbread with spicy cauliflower stuffing.
[97] A fried snack made from a batter of rice paste, white flour, and baking soda.

Her diary entry reflected her identity as a student in the mention of PhD work. But along with that, she also wrote about cooking *Gobhi Parantha* in the morning and *Vada* and Chutney in the evening. This was reflective of a combination of tastes. While the north Indian breakfast catered to Khushi's palate, the South Indian snack was for her husband. Combining foods like this is part of eating as a household (Valentine, 1999). As compared to Richa in London who lived on frozen and ready-made food, Khushi spent more time in the kitchen because she did not have to share the space with anyone else, and also because she was cooking meals to share with her husband. The consumption practices of Khushi and her husband were governed by her marital status (Valentine, 1999). Also, cooking most meals at home, she ensured that her husband ate healthily[98], thereby playing the role of a dutiful wife (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002). Although mostly women mentioned cooking Indian food regularly at home, there were men who claimed to cook/prepare food as well[99]. This is, perhaps, indicative of changing relationships between gender and the space of the kitchen. Josh mentioned that although he could cook the basic food like rice, egg, vegetables and *dal*, he did not like cooking because he did not like eating alone (Toronto, 7th October, 2009). Prasanna shared a photograph (Fig. 83) of a spread of Keralan food which he had cooked with a friend (Toronto, 22nd January, 2010). He had situated himself in the middle of the frame demonstrating the pride he felt at cooking the meal, and also the joy he experienced at the prospect of eating food from home after a long time. Indranil had shared a photograph (Fig. 84) of Indian food comprising of rice, mixed vegetables and chicken curry that he had cooked (London, 29th June, 2009). There was no

[98] "I had never given him any fried stuff ever." (Khushi, Toronto, 4th December, 2009). Although this is contradictory to her diary entry earlier, it perhaps relates to how she feels that she is in control of her family's health.

[99] It is worth mentioning here, that although Khushi did most of the cooking, her husband also helped in the kitchen as was evidenced in her diary entries (dated 20th November, 25th November, and 26th November, 2009) where she mentioned her husband cooking meals.

accompanying description of the photograph but it added to what he had said in the first interview about his love for cooking and how he took pride in cooking well.

Figure 83: Prasanna's Kerala feast at a friend's

Figure 84: Indranil cooks an elaborate dinner

Vidya and Nayantara mentioned that they missed coming home to hot food. A deep relationship existed between feeling at home and food. In some cases, they were almost synonymous. Nayantara's diary entry not only reflected the interconnection between 'home' and food, but also successfully broadened the field of 'home' to include the

city/nation. An excerpt from Nayantara's diary entry on 10th December, 2009, Thursday, read thus:

> *Since a few months, I have been craving biriyani a lot. I have already tried out several take-out places in Toronto, although compromising on the great Indian/ Calcutta style taste, they are as best as you can get here. Some of the restaurants are a bit far from my place, making it very inconvenient to satisfy a craving late at dinner time and asking to step out in the cold. So today I decided to try out making my own Biriyani. My roommate at Rutgers used to make it often, but I never dabbled with the idea of the hitherto impossible task of making one. I was satisfied enough to play the assistant chef and look forward to relishing the end product. But today I think the craving overpowered the wimp in me and I decided to experiment. I got to the grocery to get the necessary raw materials – mostly the chicken, onions. I have most of the masalas at home. Searched for a suitable recipe online and bingo! – got one which seemed simple enough by biriyani considerations. The final steaming can be done in a microwave which would be perfect. I set off on the task, and two hours later, my first homemade Biriyani was ready. It wasn't the perfect kind but nearly equal or maybe even better than the take-aways I often survive on. And the best part of it was the confidence I generated from making this handsome dish. It suddenly opened the doors for me as I no longer had to depend on the Indian resto[sic]on Dundas to fulfil my gastronomic desires.*

Here, Nayanatara's understanding of home is not that of her mother's cooking but this narrative is of her craving for a certain 'type of Biriyani' (Indian/Kolkata style. In the first interview Nayantara had stated that "home defines Kolkata" (Toronto, 5th December, 2009). So, it was no surprise that she was missing a particular taste of her favourite Biriyani from Kolkata. Her detailed description of the preparation involved in cooking this dish shows the importance she gave on making it right (Petridou, 2001). The fact that she already had the spices (*masala*) with her also indicated that she cooked other kinds of Indian food quite frequently (Kneafsey and Cox, 2002). Making home was not only about cooking familiar food (Longhurst *et al*, 2009) but it could also be conjured by familiar smells.

> ... I've always woken up to the smell of [Indian] filter coffee[100] in the house so it holds a special charm for me. A little to do the taste and

[100] Filter coffee is a coffee which is brewed overnight using roasted coffee beans, and in the morning, it is filtered and served hot with milk and sugar. This is typically found in south Indian households.

> a lot to do with the idea of growing up to that smell constantly there and I come here and I make filter coffee but then soon I realized that I don't have time to make filter coffee ... – Vidya (London, 21st July, 2009)

Vidya spoke about the aroma of filter coffee filling her senses every time she woke up in the morning. It was a smell that she associated with 'home'. After her arrival in London, she wanted to re-create this sense of home, and started brewing coffee in her room. But soon her emotional need made way for practicality and she dropped the idea of making herself coffee every morning because of lack of time.

Vidya's geographical experience of a home back in India is enmeshed with her memory of the smell of filter coffee. Vidya wanted to re-create the smell in her room so that it would be more familiar and homely but soon realized that it was difficult for her to do so in her current living conditions. As a student, she did not find the time to make coffee every day and soon resorted to buying coffee from the shop. So, the tension between trying to re-create home and having to make adjustments and compromises in doing so is a constant presence in the lives of the Indian students.

Rodaway (1994: 62) conceptualized an 'olfactory geography' as a study of the "role of smell in geographical experience, that is in the organization of space and spatial relationships, locatedness and orientation in space, and the characterisation of and relationship to place". This relationship between the self, space, and place is multi-scalar in nature and can extend beyond the limits of the house as home, to encompass a much larger spatial dimension, such as a city or even a nation (Walsh, 2006).

Feeling at home is also related to the creation of a space where one can be oneself. Although students mentioned being comfortable speaking in English, it still remained their second (or third) language. Speaking in their mother tongue was something which connected them to their 'roots'.

> ... I have to listen to Hindi. Sometimes when I am tense or anxious, I play a Hindi movie, because I like to listening to Hindi for some time, because those are the things which I have been brought up with and they soothe me, they are familiar for me. I can listen, talk English and write English fluently, better than Hindi. But I have to relate to Hindi. – Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009)

The auditory sense has not been as significant as the others in the making of a homely space. Teresa mentioned listening to Tamil and Malayalam songs, along with English ones. There was some hesitant mention of watching movies online by Tarun. This was because he felt that it was not appropriate to talk about something which could be considered as piracy. Apart from that, Tanvi mentioned watching videos of Bollywood songs on YouTube. But, the most explicit connection made with language and home was made by Kiran in Toronto. Feelings of belonging and empowerment were linked to the different spaces and to the languages spoken.

Language can be used to create a sense of community (Boland, 2010). This latter aspect is related to the "personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place" (Antonsich, 2010: 645). Antonsich (2010) calls this place-belongingness. Valentine *et al* argue that "language is a situated practice" (2008: 385) by demonstrating the relationship between language, migration, and identity in the lives of young Somalis in Sheffield.

Listening to her mother tongue was therapeutic for Kiran. She considered it as something that helped her calm down when she was stressed. This related to the importance of language in creating home and negotiating 'difference' (Valentine *et al*, 2008). Although Kiran felt quite comfortable communicating in English, occasionally she felt the need to listen to something familiar, which in turn exposed the 'unfamiliarity' of the English language.

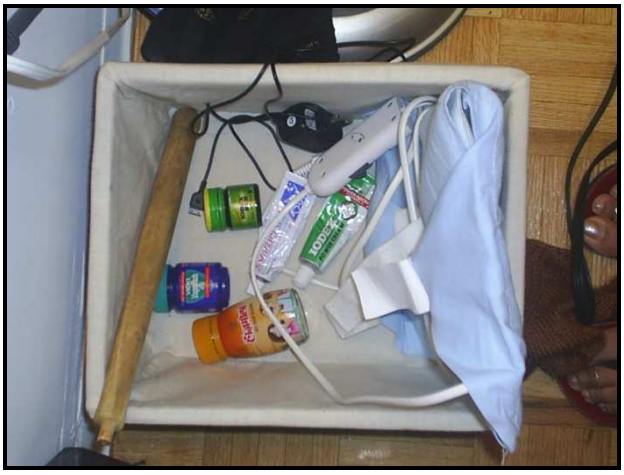

Figure 85: Khushi's "medical box"

> ... This is our medical box just next to our bed. We can't do without it at all. Every night "Iodex *laga doon? Achha,* Vicks *laga doon*?"[101] "*Nehin, nehin, ek kaam karo, woh belan*[102] *hai na, usey yahaan dabaa do*"... A newly married couple, not even one year of marriage, where are all the fancy things that my friends gave me? Why have they been tucked away inside the almirah[103]? This is very central to our life right now. It's our lifeline. We can't do without it. There's also a heat pad. – Khushi (Toronto, 4th December, 2009)

Considering that the students talked about home being a sensory experience, the absence of the haptic is conspicuous and calls for a deeper analysis. 'Haptic' is derived from the Greek *haptesthai*, meaning 'of, or, pertaining to touch' (Paterson, 2009). Touch is a sense which involves being touched, and therefore the presence of another human or non-human being who can reciprocate feelings like love and affection is essential. Morrison's (2010) study about the connections between home and the everyday embodied experiences of companionship and love among heterosexual couples emphasize the importance of being able to touch a loved one. Her study uncovers the ways in which the sense of touch can help us understand the co-

[101] Vicks and Iodex are both muscle relaxants of Indian make. Vicks is used more commonly for cold-induced body ache. She quoted an everyday conversation that she had with her husband every night. Her quotation can be loosely translated as "Should I rub Iodex on your back? Alright, what about Vicks, then?", "No, no please. Why don't you use that rolling pin (*belan*) instead [and rub it on the back]?" The rolling pin can be seen among the contents in the basket.
[102] *Belan* is Hindi for rolling pin. It is a kitchen object used in making Indian flatbread or *chapatti*.
[103] It is derived from the Hindi and Urdu word *almari*, which means a cupboard, used generally to store clothes and other things.

constitutive nature of space and heterosexual bodies. In fact, Morrison (2010) goes on to say that the 'touch' does not necessarily have to be sexual in nature, but she argues that such practices of 'touching' loved ones were an important part of making home. This indicates the importance placed on companionship in the feeling of home.

Khushi expressed her dissatisfaction with the back aches that she and her husband were suffering and pointed to the medicine basket as an object which was out-of-place in the bedroom of a newly-married couple. However, this peek into her everyday life also indicated the spaces of touch in the home. Here, the material objects which symbolize the sense of touch in Khushi's home are also objects which symbolize home at the scale of Indian domestic space. The medicines which are commonly found in Indian homes are used to get relief from pain. A couple's (married or otherwise) bedroom, which is traditionally the space for sexual touch (Morrison, 2010) is converted into what Paterson (2009) terms 'affective or caring touch'. In this context, the absence of 'touch' can be illustrated through Tanvi's example. She mentioned feeling depressed when she fell ill because there was no one around to take care of her (Interview, 13th July, 2009). Similarly, Nisha felt 'cared for' when her friends dropped by with food when she was ill.

> *Tuesday, July 21, 2009 – down with sinus and fever. Stayed in bed till 3 pm. Visit by a friend who got home cooked food and medicines.*

This pertains to the importance of 'touch' and its geographies (Dixon and Straughan, 2010) and marked the presence or absence of someone whose caring touch can have a profound effect on one's physical and psychological well-being. This also relates to the discussion on the 'landscapes of care' (Milligan and Wiles, 2010). Here, the presence of a caring person such as a friend who visits with food and medicines creates a sense of belonging and contributes to the feeling of home. Bowlby (2011) explores the

relationship between 'geographies of care' and friendship in different spaces, including the home. For Indian students, their friendship networks become the strongest support system and such 'geographies of care' add significantly to the feeling of home. Geographies of touch can also be evoked from memory (Dixon and Straughan, 2010) and articulated through representations of such memories in the form of photographs which can be touched. Family photographs mounted on pin-boards are material objects which not only give character to a room and personalize a space, but they also are visual reminders of people and loved ones 'back home'.

'Family photographs' have been defined by Jacobs (1981) and cited by Rose (2003: 6) as "usually taken by members of their own family, mostly of members of their own family, for viewing by members of their own family". Although Rose's (2003, 2004) study involved women and their intense relationship with the photographs in a more settled environment, it will be used to understand and interpret the presence of family photographs in the homes of Indian students. Faced with migration, Indian students bring along photographs of their family. Needless to say, these photographs evoke emotions of belonging. But these were not articulated by the students. Since photographs can be objectified but the meanings attached to them cannot be, they are considered representations of the people themselves (Rose, 2003). Such is the case with Shruti, who pointed to a photograph on the shelf and said:

> ... I have a couple of albums. I have my mom and dad over there. I made a collage out of my pictures. – Shruti (Toronto, 20th December, 2009)[104]

[104] During the course of the interview, I had asked her to describe her room. She had fumbled and taken a lot of time to respond. Since the interview was being conducted in her apartment, I had initiated the conversation by saying "Ok, let me help. I can see lots of pictures and photographs..." (Interview in Toronto, 20th December, 2009) which had prompted the response discussed above.

Not only did Shruti refer to the photographs as embodied representations of her parents, she also refered to the tactile nature of photographs, as opposed to having digital copies of them in her laptop. The pin-boards on the desks of Monica (Fig. 86) and Richa's (Fig. 87) room in Toronto and London respectively had displays of photographs of family and friends too. Monica spoke about this tactile quality of photographs although she was not able to articulate why she preferred having hard copies of photographs and letters. She had captioned this photograph (Fig. 86) as "All you guys on my desk".

Figure 86: "All you guys on my desk"

> ... These are my parents, my family [...] and my sister and that picture is from back home. And the others are pictures from Pune and these are my best friends actually [...] That's a frame that was given to me by a friend of mine, back in Pune. So I have had that picture with me for the last like five years now. It's always been on my bedside table [...] I love photographs. Although I have pictures of my family on the computer, it's not the same thing. You wake up in the morning and you can see this every day. I don't know what it is about photographs but it feels more personal than on the computer. I don't know for some reason...every time I look up and it's there, all of them. I would always prefer receiving a letter than an email. I love hard copies. – Monica (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009)

Monica introduced me to her family as if they were present in the room with us. This embodied nature of photographs is what gives them meaning and sets them beyond the

realm of object/subject (Rose, 2003). Monica's desk was transformed into a symbolic site of presence/absence of family members as well as the interconnections with memory and materiality. Nayantara's desk (which will be discussed in Section 2) also had a couple of photographs of her family. One was that of her father when he was in the army and another of her with her mother before leaving India. Like Monica, Nayantara too had introduced me to her parents.

> ... That is my dad, when he was in the army. That's one of the photographs I like to see him as because he was proud of the fact that he was a soldier and that kind of strength came into me too. And this is my mom and me, just before I was coming [abroad] – Nayantara (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

The photographs had been carefully and thoughtfully selected for migration. She brought the photograph of her father when he was in the army because it denoted his strength of character, which Nayantara felt was inculcated in her. It was a visual reminder of what she had achieved as well as a connection with her loved one. The mother-daughter photograph was specifically brought along to Canada. It was reminiscent of a time when she was in India (Rose, 2003). Richa's photographs served a similar purpose, although the affective quality of the photographs in her room was reflected more explicitly in her statement.

Figure 87: Family photographs on the wall

> ... whenever I am homesick, I look at the pictures. Makes me feel like my family is with me. Helps me get over my homesickness [...] It makes me feel at home. – Richa (London, 22nd July, 2009)

Richa was one among the very few who mentioned homesickness. She seemed particularly attached to her family because she had mentioned that she chose UK because it was "closer to home and I can always go home if I am feeling home-sick or something. I can fly home and it's just 9 hours" (London, 15th July, 2009). For her, the photographs of her family were central to her life as was evident from where they were placed in the room (Rose, 2003). They were put up on the pin-board which was a central feature of her desk. By viewing the photographs, she felt close to her family and at times when she missed home, she felt better by looking at them and remembering the happy moments that the photographs captured (Rose, 2004). The 'referentiality' (Rose, 2003) of photographs in terms of their spatial arrangement was a subconscious act for Richa. This was not so with Khushi. Khushi's conscious allocation and utilization of shared space in a more meaningful and equitable way in order to avoid 'territorial conflicts' (Cieraad, 2010) showed her awareness of her role as a wife, and the importance she placed on 'space' in her daily life.

> ... Now most of the pictures are our wedding pictures. Even though my husband never says anything but because I have heard so many stories from friends about how you use your space in your married life, like it's the girl's family that appropriates all the space [...] so I was always very conscious that our space has to be our space and it just can't be my space. And I don't even want to be my space anymore because I want it to be our space. So, I am very conscious that when I am framing a picture, it has full representation from our family. – Khushi (Toronto, 4th December, 2009)

Rose (2004) claimed that women spent more time in the arranging, ordering, distribution, and taking photographs of their daily lives, as well as special occasions. Khushi invested a lot of time in her photograph collection. She loved taking photographs of her daily life, shared them on social networking sites, and sent them to

India by email. Her mother-in-law also sent her photographs from India by email. She mentioned how when she had arrived in Toronto, she had gone hunting for a good photo frame even before she bought bare necessities like a duvet (Toronto, 24th November, 2009). Khushi stated that looking at photographs made her smile because they reminded her of the happy moments and the people she shared those moments with. Prior to her wedding, her apartment had photographs of her family and her fiancé. But after her wedding, there were more photographs of her wedding. This indicated the stage of life she was at.

All these examples of the placement of photographs where they can be viewed regularly and easily reflect 'togetherness' (Rose, 2004). Rose also claims that meanings attached to photographs become more intense and powerful when family are geographically distant from each other (Rose, 2004: 560). The above discussion about photographs also reinforces Rose's (2003) claim about the ambiguous relationship between photography and femininity because all of the students who spoke about photographs as part of home-making were women, and how this translated in their everyday lives and within domestic spaces[105]. On the one hand, the photographs had special meaning to the students as photographs of family in India, while on the other hand, they were sometimes glossed over as mundane, and even invisible (Rose, 2004), as was the case with Shruti (Toronto, 28th January, 2010). Although the women in Rose's research (2003, 2004) discussed the role of photographs in a more permanent understanding of home, having spent their whole lives there, it can be extrapolated to include the experience(s) of migration for Indian (women) students. Her research resonates in their home-making practices away from an originary home, and in turn,

[105] Although this was not an explicit question in the interviews, it was the women who volunteered information along with photographs of photographs in their domestic spaces. Except for Narayanan and Murthi in London, no other men shared photographs of their rooms.

explicates how domestic space is stretched spatially and temporally outside the domain of the present time and place to include relations dispersed across the globe (Rose, 2003).

The different senses evoke different emotions in people and they trigger specific images of home, which they endeavour to re-create in their everyday lives in a foreign country. Within the space of the home, Indian students use different strategies to create a place which is a combination of the home in India and a home which they make for themselves on their own. So, their sense of agency and their expressions of self are translated in the spaces of the home. The space of the dwelling also evokes certain emotions (both negative and positive), which contribute to the sense of home/not home.

7.3. Materialities of home

The significance of material objects for home-making purposes in the homes of the Indian students is the focus of this section. For the purpose, I shall focus on two aspects in their homes. The first one is the desk, which was transformed into a repository of memories for personal viewing. The second one is the sacred corner in the room, which can be a shelf, or a part of the desk, or a separate area demarcated specially for the purpose. These collections of everyday sacred and non-religious objects are used as analytical tools to understand the intersections between the contradictions and complexities of Indian youth identities on the one hand and the simultaneity of home as fluid and fixed (Ralph and Staeheli, 2011) on the other. The material objects also relate to Mehta and Belk's (1991) study about the artefacts that Indian immigrants bring with them to USA. These are imbricated with experiences of migration while locating them within each oppositional aspect of the binaries of

material/abstract, uprooting/belonging, connection/disconnection, and roots/routes. Needless to say, it is impossible to separate the material, mnemonic, and the emotional aspects of home and therefore, the material objects under scrutiny are also infused with memories of people and places in India. These form part of the everyday lives of the Indian students and they are allocated a 'place' in their rooms, thereby adding meaning to the process of home-making. It was mostly the women[106] who spoke about the shrine or *mandir* in their rooms as a corner with multiple meanings and representations (Tolia-Kelly, 2004). The material necessities and objects which the students carry with them from India such as the pressure cooker (discussed in Section 7.1.3) also bear testimony to the continued connections with India as home. Tolia-Kelly's (2004) study of South Asian homes also had similar shrines which were mostly the domain of the women. Home-making for the women is therefore, an act of claiming and personalizing space, no matter how temporary it might be.

7.3.1. Memorabilia and home

Nayantara shared a one-bedroom apartment with another international student. While Nayantara lived in the bedroom, her flatmate lived in the living room. They shared the kitchen, dining space, and bathroom. Although the interviews took place in her apartment, I did not get to see her room because she felt that it was not presentable (Ellis, 2003). She however, shared some photographs of her room before the second interview. The photographs were a visual narrative (Datta, 2011) of different aspects of her room (see Fig. 88).

[106] It was only Narayanan (London) who shared photographs of his shrine, and Tarun (Toronto) who spoke about the *mandir* that he shared with his roommate.

Figure 88: Collage of photographs of Nayantara's room[107]

The bedspread, cushion covers, and curtains were brought from India. Judging by the location of the laptop, the photographs bore reference to what she said about not studying at the desk but on the bed. The photographs were almost like a 360° virtual tour of her room.

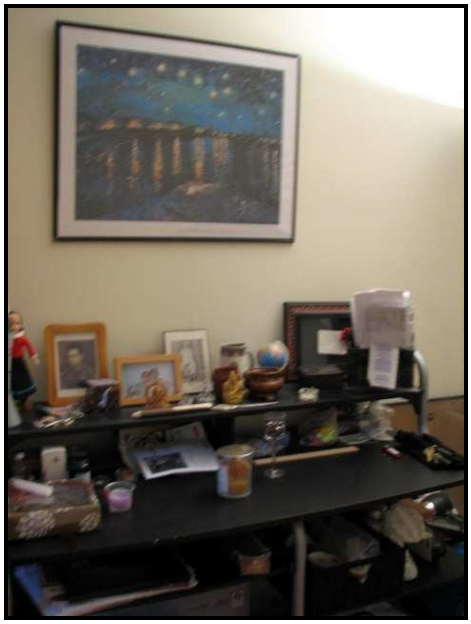

Figure 89: Desk used as a display cabinet for memorabilia

... Since I work primarily sitting on my bed, since my laptop is there,
I would say it is a desk cum a shelf, sort of a combo kind of a thing

[107] I have made a collage of the photographs of her room. The collage was useful because the narrative ran through all the photographs.

> and I haven't sat here to write [...] and that is Ram Thakur, my mom's *guru*. As a kid I used to pray to him because everyone in my family is kind of indoctrinated by him but I am an agnostic now, so I don't really believe in him, but the photograph is still there. And this is *Saraswati* [Hindu Goddess of knowledge]. This is sandstone *Saraswati*. V, who was my roommate who happens to be very religious got it for me from Tamil Nadu, so I kept it. And I think there is a tiny swan which my friend gave to me before I came here. The cup here, this is another very good-looking piece, it is from the Art exhibition in Toronto, which my friend S gave to me. Then I have a globe here. Sometimes I see India [...] I always liked a globe on my desk. It makes me aware of the world. And that's a scented candle. This was given to me by my cousin. And yeah, surprisingly, I never got time to fill this frame up. This was given to me by S as a birthday or farewell gift at Rutgers. So I had always thought of putting my entire Rutgers group out there but I couldn't find a snap with everybody in it and then at one point of time, I was thinking of making a collage but I never got around to doing it. So, it's an empty frame. It's a nice Rajasthani frame. That's a Van Gogh. I picked it up from a posters sales here [...] It's not a desk, it's like a showcase. – Nayantara (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009)

Amidst all the things in her room (which had been cleaned because she would be taking a photograph) there was a desk. The desk had caught my attention because the objects on it looked like a collection of interwoven biographic stories. From her description, it was obvious that the desk acted as a site for connecting different places, people, and events in the past. Although it came with the apartment, deeming it quite impersonal and devoid of any memories attached to it as a piece of furniture (Cieraad, 2010), it nevertheless, acted as an agent in teasing out the layers of her identities. The globe symbolized her connection with the world, indicating her sense of loneliness and isolation. Her act of turning the globe around to look at the map of India also seemed to imply her longing for her homeland during moments of nostalgia. This situated her as an Indian student. The empty photo frame in the corner of the desk where she intended to put a photograph of her friends from Rutgers University (where she had done her Masters) indicated her international student status. It also implied the busy

life of a graduate student with limited leisure time[108]. The "good-looking piece" from the Toronto Art Exhibition situated her in her present surroundings along with the Van Gogh poster on the wall above the desk which she had bought from a local posters sale. The Van Gogh poster also indicated her identity as an art-lover.

Murthi filled up his shelf with knick knacks which he had brought from India. There were tiny models of airplanes and houses which his father had given him because his dream had been to fly an airplane. The framed poster of Jim Morrison which he had brought with him from India indicated that he was a music-lover. The other tall frame on the top shelf is a collage of the album covers of Pink Floyd which he claimed to have designed. Finally, the smaller frame on the top shelf is a photograph of his school friends. They were all 'very important' to him (London, 3rd August, 2009).

Figure 90: Murthi personalizes his room

The bric-a-brac in Murthi's room was a reflection of his identity of a music-lover, and someone who valued his friendships. There were no photographs of his family, but some mementoes that his father had given him. This possibly indicated the gendered nature of collecting and displaying family photographs (Rose, 2003).

[108] This notion of the life of a (post)graduate student had been contradicted by Gautam, who had claimed that he had ample free time (London, 1st September, 2009).

The number and type of material objects also depended upon the marital status of the participants. Khushi mentioned that since living with her husband, her house felt more like "a household"[109] (Khushi, Interview, 20th November, 2009), complete with little gadgets in the kitchen. She substantiated this by stating that this change in her lifestyle in terms of the materialities of home had not gone unnoticed.

> ... Like my friend was telling me the other day that [...] now when I come to your house, you have these small, small things. You have a steamer for vegetables? You have a tool to make poach[ed egg]? Who on earth has that? And I said "yeah, but I have that" and now I have a household to run and I am quite excited about that. – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

While Nayantara's desk connected people, places, time(s), and events, there were a couple of objects that were of religious nature. There was a photograph of her mother's spiritual teacher, Ram Thakur. She claimed that she was sceptical about the existence of God, but still kept the photograph on her desk. There was also a sandstone idol of the Hindu Goddess of knowledge or *Saraswati*. But the fact that the goddess did not claim a separate space in her room like the sacred corners created by Gitanjali and Khushi (to be discussed subsequently), but was part of the other mementos on her desk re-instated her statement about being an agnostic. To her, the idol was more about the emotions attached to the person from whom the gift was received. This pointed towards the complex relationship that existed between the practice of religion, and religion as a cultural part of everyday life. Most Indian students in London and Toronto spoke about the daily ritual of bowing before an imaginary God, or before an idol.

[109] She called her apartment a household while comparing her current living conditions with that of her married sister because she was married and living with her husband.

7.3.2. Sacred objects and spaces

Pooja (London, 17th June, 2009) spoke about the wooden shelf in her room which she had dedicated to the different idols that she had brought from India.

> ... I have a very devoted corner for them, a wooden shelf. A wooden corner. I have brought all these Gods and Goddesses from India. – Pooja (London, 17th June, 2009)

The idols of Gods can be made from a variety of materials such as stone (Nayantara's idol of *Saraswati*), terracotta, or metals such as silver (Gitanjali's idol of *Ganesha*). These are easily available in different temples or even in specialty shops in every city of India. Indian students usually bring such idols with them from India. These idols are put in their rooms, either in specially-made corners of desks, or shelves; or if there is more space, they are allotted a special place (or corner) and can even have a room dedicated to them (Mehta and Belk, 1991). Like Pooja, other students too mentioned having this shrine or *mandir* (Tolia-Kelly, 2004) in their rooms.

Tarun (Toronto, 20th December, 2009) had also stated that although he was not religious, a shelf had been converted into a small temple where he and his flatmate prayed every day by lighting incense. Such contradictions in the practices and belief systems of the participants seemed confusing at first. But a deeper analysis revealed that the daily acts of lighting a lamp or bowing before God were cultural aspects of everyday life and did not have necessarily religious connotations. Divya Tolia-Kelly (2004) summarizes the importance of shrines in the households of South Asian women in her study as "symbolic of a cultural identity linked to a space pre-migration and its textures are central to this recalling process" (Tolia-Kelly, 2004: 321). Khushi's photograph of her *mandir* depicted these linkages between pre-migration spaces and her process of recalling memories through these material objects.

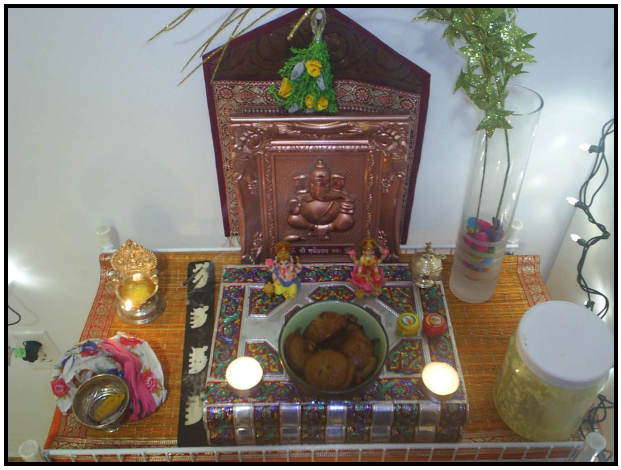

Figure 91: Khushi's sacred space

... I decided to reorganize the space because suddenly I found all the things that I wanted because earlier I was thinking that I will buy something like a drawer or something which I can fix onto the wall. It meant another $50 or $60 of expenses and then I was like, 'Oh I have things which I can work with'. So basically these are the set of things which otherwise I had during the time of my marriage, like this *Ganesha* was given to us by my father-in-law's very good family friend and this is something which I entered with into our new home. [...]This *dia*[110] was used by my sister-in-law throughout the wedding process, then this is a *sindoor dibbi*[111] which my mum-in-law had given me, and this is a bangle box[112] which my sister had given me and these were the things which I didn't want to leave when I was leaving India [...]Yeah, this is the *Ganeshji* which I bought on *Diwali* because I said that I am not going to make a *mandir* out of my space, because I am not going to be doing any idol-worshipping or whatever but it was during *Diwali* and I had this recollection from my mum's house. Every *Diwali* we were buying new *Ganesha-Laxmi* and [...]I said, 'I have to do something' because I was not doing anything else in terms of what otherwise my mum does. So, then we went to Gerrard Street and we got these. So, these are actually car things, like things which you can put on your cars. So they were really tiny, so I bought them. So, this was like my first possession that I bought for my *mandir*. So there is this *chhotu* [small] *sindoor dibbi* and *chandan*[113] *dibbi* and in there is raw turmeric. And in this there is basically something called *gatjod*, which is something that during the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom's [tail end of the *saree* and the *uttariya*[114]] are tied, with some *shagun*[115] inside. This you are

[110] *Dia* is Hindi for lamp.
[111] *Dibbi* means small box or container. *Sindoor* is vermillion powder which is the mark of a married Hindu woman, which she (traditionally) applies on the parting of her hair.
[112] The bangle box is in the foreground of the photograph. Used as a platform, the idol of *Ganesha* is placed on it.
[113] *Chandan* is sandalwood paste or powder. It is used in various Hindu religious rituals.
[114] *Uttariya* is a cotton shawl that is draped on the shoulders of the groom.

> supposed to keep for a year. – Khushi (Toronto, 4th December, 2009)

Khushi's detailed and animated description of the space of the *mandir* depicts three parallel stories. The first is about her home-making practice of creating a space where she can place her idols and other 'auspicious' things in a meaningful way[116]. She brought together things that she already had in her house instead of spending $60 on something which might have been more appropriate, functional, and space-saving in her mind. This reflected her identity as a student (with limited funds), as well as her inclination to decorate her space with the resources available. In essence it is a story of domesticity. The second story is about the interconnection between memories of her mother and her home-making practices in India. The effort she put in to acquire the *Ganesha-Laxmi* by travelling to Gerrard Street is proof of the importance of the cultural aspects of religion. It also indicates how memories of home-making are associated with the mother and the rituals that she performed. It is not uncommon for women to emulate their mothers, and this seems more prominent during a physical separation from the mother figure, as well as a distance from the originary home. So, in Khushi's *mandir*, the presence of an idol of *Ganesha-Laxmi* is not so much a reflection of her religious bent (which seemed quite flexible)[117], but about re-creating and re-enacting the traditions and rituals of her home in India. And finally, her *mandir* was a repository of memories of her wedding. Since she had been married recently, her *mandir*, like her home, reflected this phase of life. The boxes filled with sandalwood and vermilion

---

[115] Symbol of auspiciousness. Depending on the part of India where the bride and groom are from it can be something simple like raw rice, or dried coconut, or raw turmeric, or a silver coin.

[116] She also mentioned how she had chosen the space. Earlier it was in a corner of her bedroom, but after she got new mattresses, she had to move the *mandir* to another place. She would later move the *mandir* several times before she was satisfied with the result.

[117] When asked about her religious belief, she said that her relationship with God was personal and most of the time she 'talked' to God about the needs of other people whom she cared about. She said that she was not sure whether she was more spiritual than religious, or what the difference between the two was. This showed some level of flexibility about the idea of religion and God.

powder, the lamp, the idol of *Ganesha* which was presented to her, and the *gatjod*, are all symbols of a Hindu wedding. She brought them along with her to Canada because they symbolized an important phase of her life. So, her *mandir* reflected her mnemonic association with her mother, her home in India, and her memories of her wedding. It is a sacred space not only in religious terms, but in a more everyday mundane form. It is a sacred space for her memories, and which in turn, revealed facets of her identities. Thus, the home is envisioned as a site which brings connectivity and stability with the help of cultural and national affiliations (Tolia-Kelly, 2004).

Gitanjali's *mandir* was a combination of the symbolisms of daily rituals like the lit brass lamp and smoke emanating from the joss stick at the bottom of the photograph, and her memories of people and places in India.

Figure 92: Gitanjali's 'mandir'

> ... The *diya* is from Kerala, it's a miniature of the huge brass lamp called *Vilakku* [...] And I clicked this because many people who come to our house find this very interesting. Not Indian, but we have some Japanese friends and so on and they are like, 'Oh, you have made a platform and why do you pray?' and I tell them that 'it's not like that'. These idols [...] were given to me by different people. The Lord Krishna [on the pin-board] was given to me by a very good friend of mine, in JNU. So it goes a long way back, like 4 or 5 years, [...] and the small *Ganesha* is a gift from my wedding. It's a

> pure silver *Ganesha* [idol]. This one is from *Vaishnodevi*[118]. I had gone to *Vaishnodevi*. It's a very difficult journey, so it's a remembrance of that. And that [photograph] with the various idols was given to me by my mother-in-law when we were first moving to Canada. And Mother Mary with her halo broken--[her husband] was an MA student in Pondicherry and some friend of his gave that and we just thought that this is about faith. So we just kept it. And the yellow and red thread is Durga Puja. This time I went to Guwahati for the Puja and my mother gave it to me. So I just kept it there ... – Gitanjali (Toronto, 27th January, 2010)

Like Khushi's *mandir*, Gitanjali's *mandir* was also her private storehouse of memories. She found it difficult to explain to her non-Indian friends that her *mandir* was more about memories because of the religious nature of the shrine. Like Khushi, Gitanjali had also created a raised platform on which she placed the photographs or idols of various Gods and Goddesses that had been passed on to her, or were gifts from family when she migrated from India (Tolia-Kelly, 2004) . She covered the platform with a red cloth, a colour which is considered auspicious. These practices are aspects which she was socialized into as a young girl, possibly by a matriarch and continued in her current home. Although Gitanjali mentioned that the constituents of the *mandir* were mostly gifts from different people, what was unique about it was how intricately her memories of people/events were conencted with different places in India. The *Vilakku* symbolizing Kerala, the statue of Mother Mary from Puducherry[119], the red and yellow string from Guwahati, and the photograph of Lord Krishna from JNU[120] in New Delhi. Her *mandir* was a combination of Hinduism and Christianity and this was explained by Kiran, who had said that:

> ... One good thing about growing up in India is that there is so much religious diversity. So you actually grow up learning and

[118] Based in Katra, (state of Jammu) at an altitude of 5,200 ft. is a difficult pilgrimage since it involves a 12 kilometre trek. Vaishnodevi is the name of the goddess whose shrine is located inside a natural cave and consists of three natural rocks which are worshipped as forms of the goddess. https://www.maavaishnodevi.org/introduction1.asp (Last accessed: February 25, 2012)

[119] Pondicherry has been renamed to Puducherry. It is part of the decolonising drive wherein many Indian cities were renamed. Pondicherry was one of the two French colonial towns in India. The other one is Chandannagore in West Bengal.

[120] Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

> respecting other religions. But over here, who have grown up in a single faith country, for them if you accompany them to a church, it's shocking. They don't understand why you are coming to a church when you are a Hindu. Whereas in India, it's very common. – Kiran (Toronto, 22nd November, 2009)

Unlike the shrines of Khushi and Gitanjali, much less elaborate were those of Narayanan and Richa's in London. This can be attributed to three factors. Firstly, the student rooms in London are smaller in size, and secondly, their duration of stay in London is much less compared to that of Khushi and Gitanjali. As doctoral students, they had been living in Toronto for more than two years while Richa and Narayanan were doing their Masters, which is typically a year long course in UK. And finally, both the women were married and had a permanent residency of Canada. This made their residential status in the country more settled than those of Richa and Narayanan, who had a UK student visa of limited duration. In a corner of Narayanan's study table is a little tray in which are placed some photographs of Gods and an idol of *Ganesha*. They were clustered together and not organized like those of Khushi and Gitanjali. As floweres are a common offering to Gods, a fresh rose is seen placed in front of the tray (Fig. 93), marking the continuity of tradition in the context of migration.

Figure 93: Narayanan's daily prayer ritual

... I pray in the morning. So, a daily schedule ... – Narayanan (London, 20th July, 2009)

Matter-of-fact and precise, Narayanan's description of the photograph denotes not only the taken-for-granted and everyday (and therefore, mundane) nature of the space but also the identity of the researcher as an insider. He did not feel the need to explain the details of his *mandir* because he presumed that I would understand the significance of the photograph. His daily schedule included getting up in the morning, taking a shower and praying before God. The second photograph (Fig. 94) which he shared was that of a couple of religious saints which he put up on his wall. The photographs were something he liked looking at when he felt distressed. By simply focussing on the faces of the saints, he felt inner peace.

Figure 94: A photograph of Aurobindo and Mother

The presence of the photograph of Aurobindo and Mother[121] denotes the religious/philosophical diversity and complexity in India. Like Nayantara who had a photograph of her mother's spiritual teacher, Narayanan too mentioned that he followed the preaching of the saints because his family did so and he had since childhood done the same. However, unlike Nayantara who did not believe in Ram Thakur anymore, Narayanan was stirred emotionally whenever he looked at their photographs.

Richa had simplified her daily prayer schedule even further. She would place an unlit tealight in front of the idol of *Ganesha* for fear of setting off the fire alarm in the student residence. Although traditionally an oil/ghee[122] lamp or *dia* is used in Hindu religious rituals, Richa's tealight is symbolic of the temporary-ness of her stay in London.

---

[121] Aurobindo Ghose was a Bengali revolutionary during the pre-independence days, but who later underwent a spiritual transformation, while in jail, charged with sedition. He later went to the then French colony Pondicherry (now Puducherry) in South India and established an *ashram.* A French woman, Mirra Alfassa heard about Aurobindo from her husband and decided to visit him in India. Later she permanently moved to Pondicherry in 1928. She believed in Aurobindo's philosophy of elevation of the human soul towards a Higher Power through what they called Integral Yoga, which had its roots in *Vedantic* thought. It was called the New Consciousness. She was called the Mother by Aurobindo because he believed that Alfassa was the earthly manifestation of the Divine Force or *Shakti.* www.sriaurobindoashram.org (Last accessed: February 25, 2012)

[122] Indian clarified butter

Figure 95: An unlit tealight and a Ganesha idol

> ... I know *bhagwan sabke andar hotein hain*[123] but for your own peace of mind, you want an idol whom you can worship every day and feel secure and nice that He is there watching you and He is there for you. And this was again something that I had forgotten to get with me in September and my parcel which came in October, I'd asked my mom to send this as well. I pray every day. After a shower. We don't pray without taking a bath and before eating something. – Richa (London, 22nd July, 2009)

The photograph of the single idol in her room, which she had specifically asked her mother to send from India after her arrival in London signified the importance she placed on having an image or religious icon to which she could offer her prayers, or 'talk to' when in need. She mentioned later that she never prayed for anything specific because she believed that 'Whatever happens, happens for the best'. In other words, Richa's *mandir* seemed more about imagination and faith in a higher power, rather than memories of people and places left behind.

Material objects brought from India in the initial journey, or during subsequent trips indicate their importance in re-creating the sense of home in their student residences.

[123] Among the many tenets of Hinduism, one is the idea that God resides in each and every animate and inanimate object. Richa was making a reference to that ideal. Loosely translated, it means "God is within us".

Like Tolia-Kelly's (2004) study, the women were keener in collecting objects, and displaying them for mostly personal viewing. Although her study involved diasporic South Asian women, that the homes of the students also resonated some of the features is reflective of some of the issues related to migration, namely that of disjuncture and belonging-ness. Differences were noticeable in the nature of the shrines in homes in London and Toronto. Additionally, that the women were more expressive about their shrines and used different materials and practices to create, and maintain the *mandir* in their homes was indicative of the gendered nature of this aspect of their everyday life.

7.4. Connecting home with 'here' and 'there'

> ... See, you spend most of your time in the apartment. So it makes sense to feel at home [...] No place can substitute the place you are born in [...] It's like a tree. The roots are deep within. You can cut it and take the rest of the parts outside, but the tree is still the tree. Those roots are in India. It's hard to pluck them out from there. – Praveen (Toronto, 23rd January, 2010)

The apparent contradiction in Praveen's statement about his idea of home being his apartment as well as India illustrates his sense of connection with both places simultaneously. It is both 'here' and 'there'. Although Praveen asserts his attachment to 'home' in India by comparing his migration experience to that of a transplanted tree, he also maintains that the present dwelling is also imagined and experience as home. The metaphor of the 'roots' of migration will be discussed in this section and extended to include the 'routes' which are sustained through transnational and translocal networks.

These socio-spatial relationships with home in India are maintained on an everyday basis with the help of ICT, which "have been incorporated in interesting (rather than exciting) ways into the familiar, ongoing patterns of everyday social life" (Wilding, 2006: 126). Brickell and Datta (2011) question the complexities concerned with

migrant homes which seem to be located between migration and mobility, and term these connections as not merely transnational, but translocal. They envisage translocality as a spatial condition and claim that different spaces are transformed by these 'local-local' connections. This section will discuss the different ways in which Indian students use their dwelling space (or room in most cases) as a site to maintain social relations in India and form new friendship sin the current place of residence.

7.4.1. Dwelling as a transnational space

Unlike Korean international students in New Zealand (Collins, 2009a) who use personal homepages to communicate with friends and family back home, Indian students mentioned video chatting as the main means of communication with mostly family in India. This also differed from the practices of Indian immigrants in the US (Adams and Ghose, 2003) who accessed different ethnic websites to stay abreast with the socio-cultural-political happenings in India. Gender differences in accessing the internet (Adams and Skop, 2008) was also not observed among Indian students. The importance of the Internet was poignantly described by Amitav. He was a newly married man who had returned to Toronto without his wife because of visa difficulties.

> ... I talk to her every day on Skype[124]. Yeah. Technology is saving us.
> – Amitav (Toronto, 17th December, 2009)

Gitanjali expressed how much she missed her husband, who had a teaching position in the University of Minnesota, with the help of a photograph that she shared with me. The photo is that of a laptop with a screen showing a little window at the bottom right hand corner. The window shows the silhouette of her husband. Behind the laptop is a

[124] Skype is a software application which when installed into one's computer, allows free video calls between both parties. www.skype.com/intl/en/features/allfeatures/video-call/ (last accessed: February 24, 2012)

calendar with a dark circle on the centre-top. The dark circle is actually a mirror, in which Gitanjali described catching her reflection while talking to her husband.

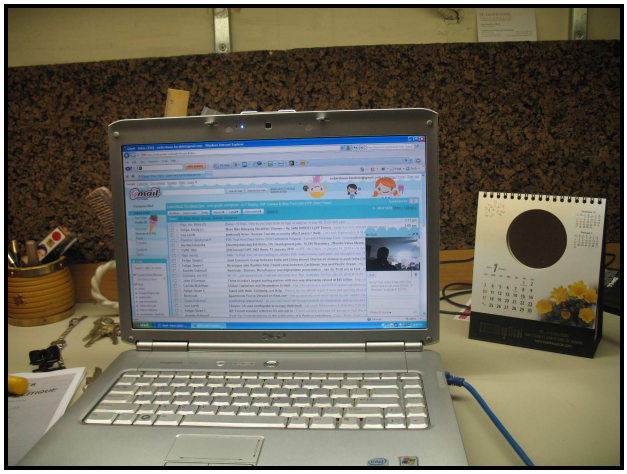

Figure 96: Gitanjali's video chat with her husband

> ... This one is where I am talking to my husband. He is on video chat. He keeps telling me that your face is looking like this or that and I keep looking at my reflection. I will notice that I have grey hair coming here. Of course it balances me out from the daily stress. He is one hour behind me now in Minnesota but he just came back from the school. So he was talking to me. – Gitanjali (Toronto, 27th January, 2010)

Gitanjali's noticing a grey hair or checking herself in the mirror placed behind the laptop shows how her identity as a woman came to the fore while talking to her husband. Raj, whose wife was in India, echoed Amitav's views about the importance of Skype not only for staying in touch with his wife and parents in India, but also his friends (scattered across the world) with whom he had a monthly video chat online (Toronto, 22nd December, 2009). For Narayanan, Skype had become part of his daily routine.

> ... I am up by 6:40 or 6:45 [...] I'll have my coffee or tea. I will call my mother and ask them to come online for half an hour or 40 minutes. And I talk to my father in the evening around 7 or 8. – Narayanan (London, 1st July, 2009)

Narayanan's statement not only illustrated the everyday nature of the transnational connections that the students maintained, but also the different kinds of technologies that they employed to do so. In his case, he called up his mother from his phone and set up a time to be online. It is not only the Internet, but also the telephone which is an important medium for maintaining transnational social ties. Khushi mentioned how she and her husband spoke to their parents and in-laws in India on a regular basis.

> ... I talk to my mum twice a week at times, but my mum-in-law definitely once a week [...] [W]e definitely don't say that 'you are not going to talk more than $10 in a week'. Not at all. If you feel like talking for $10, go ahead and talk. That's the only connection that you can have with your folks in India. – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

Staying connected with family in India is equated with being connected with the nation. For Khushi, the money invested in keeping in touch with her family and her husband's family in India was inconsequential. For Rishi, however, it was more about the time that he had to spend to talk to them that made the whole exercise more of a chore to him.

> ... I have three sisters [...] They are all married, settled [...] When I call home, I have to call each of them. If I call one and not the others, then they feel bad. So, typically, each of them takes one hour. So, the day I decide to call, I don't have any plans. I just get up in the morning and call. – Rishi (London, 2nd July, 2009)

Although Rishi's statement showed indignation at having to spend so much time on the phone, it also demonstrated the importance he gave to maintaining familial ties. Having lost his parents, Sahil felt responsible for his younger brother who was in Delhi, and wanted to have him at a place which "shouldn't be a 14 hour flight to get to" (Toronto, 23rd December, 2009). During the interview, he received a call from him. He explained that his brother had called to inform him of his exam results. This showed the daily connection that the brothers maintained across continents. After her parents had died, Kiran felt answerable to her elder brothers regarding decisions

involving travel. She felt compelled to inform them every time she left Toronto. However, she did mention that things had eased significantly since she had been living in Toronto for seven years.

> ... I also think that your family becomes more open towards you once you have left that society. Even their minds kind of open up in a way because perhaps they start to think that she is living in a different society and she has to work and live in a different way. Today if I travel on my own, I don't have to take permission if I have to go for a conference. I inform my brothers whenever I am leaving Toronto. Whenever I am going to another city, I give them the address and phone number and all. – Kiran (Toronto, 21st November, 2009)

This not only illustrated the (transnational) persistence of patriarchy but also showed the transforming power of distance and time. According to her, being away from her family had also changed their viewpoints about life and allowed her more freedom. All these examples illustrate that parents, spouses, siblings, and friends were important relationships which were nurtured transnationally by both men and women with the help of the Internet and the telephone. It also signifies the home as a place where such transnational communication takes place.

For students travelling away from home, keeping in touch with their family back in India not only gave them a sense of connection to something familiar, but also helped them to adjust to the changes of living in a foreign land. As they struggled to make themselves at home in their new surroundings, a part of them always seemed to be looking towards India. This was best demonstrated by Tanvi. Upon arrival in London and walking into her room for the first time and realizing that she had an internet connection, Tanvi had exclaimed:

> ... 'Oh my God! I don't need anything [else] now'. – Tanvi (London, 13th July, 2009)

She described how she immediately felt relieved knowing that she would be able to contact her family in India because she had an Internet connection in her room. In fact, when I asked her to mention the one thing that she would miss most when she returned to India, she said that it was the omnipresent Internet connection (London, 13th July, 2009). Students in London and Toronto mentioned their over-dependence on the Internet. For Nisha, the laptop was the "connecting factor" as she had labelled a photograph on her laptop.

Figure 97: Nisha's "connecting factor"

> "Connecting factor" because we have the internet through the day and that's how I speak to my parents, all my friends. I don't think I'll be able to survive without my laptop here. – Nisha (London, 22nd July, 2009)

At first, Nisha's claim that her survival in London depended on the internet connection, might seem like an exaggeration. But stories from other participants about their daily rituals of talking to their parents online revealed the importance of transnationality in the everyday lives of Indian students. In fact, one of the incidents that Monica described illustrated the everyday nature, and intensity of the transnational links maintained. Monica claimed that she was much more in touch with her parents in Toronto than she was when she was studying Law in Pune.

> ... Like today my dad was packing some boxes [...] [he was] whistling, watching TV and all the time I was sitting here watching him [...] That was enough [...] and that really helps because I feel that I am not alone [...] Maybe you have to come all the way here to realize how much things mean to you back at home. – Monica (Toronto, 11th December, 2009)

Monica explained how watching her father carry on with his chores at home in India gave her a sense of belonging and attachment to a familiar place. The act of leaving the video chat window open all day shows the level and intensity with which Indian students maintain their transnational connections[125]. She admitted that she needed to stay connected with her parents more after arriving in Toronto. She realized the importance of social connections with the increase in the physical distance. But ICT made it easier for her to keep in touch with them in a way which almost replicated her presence in India. For most Indian students, their primary social networks were based in India. As a result, keeping in touch with their families was a part of their everyday life, which also revealed the significance of home and the how these ties are maintained by the students across the continents.

Vidya, and Khushi are two cases in point. Khushi had to make a more drastic decision which involved her everyday routine in Canada. Despite being assigned a shared PhD office in her department, she had decided to work from home to accommodate her need to stay in touch with family in India.

> ... because of the time gap between India and Canada, usually the office timing here is the time when I am chatting with my family in India. At no cost was I willing to take away that. So, I had to work from home. – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

[125] Although she did not mention how often she did this, but from her discussion, it seemed that it was a regular activity for her, especially since her classes were over and she was working on her assignments from home.

Khushi's dogged unwillingness to compromise with her time with her family, and more specifically her fiancé, showed that she was struggling to stay connected with her social life in India. However, this was in the initial phase of her move to Canada. She explained later in the interview that she was much more relaxed after being in Canada for three years. She attributed her mental state to the presence of her husband who had moved to Canada with her after their wedding. While parents and spouses featured prominently in such similar discussions, Vidya told me that she continued to take music lessons from her teacher in Mumbai (London on 9th June, 2009).

> ... music class in the morning on Skype, with my teacher back in India. I continue music on Skype with her and my flatmates are very accommodating. They allow me to croon at 9 o'clock in the morning ... – Vidya (London, 9th June, 2009)

The virtual presence of a loved one (in Khushi's case) and continuance of familiar practices (for Vidya) can have a profound impact and constitutes an important part of the everyday lives of Indian students in London and Toronto. While such transnational connections are maintained on a regular basis with home in India, feeling 'at home' also involved making new friendships in the local context. The room as a site of face-to-face socializing with local friends will be discussed in the following sub-section.

7.4.2. Dwelling as a space of sociality

The room as a site for maintaining local, social relations is demonstrated from Richa's example. An excerpt from her diary (London, 16th- 22nd July, 2009) read as follows:

> *17th July, Friday - Researched for 2 hrs in the morning, spent the rest of the day with 2 of my very good friends from Mumbai.*

Richa elaborated during the interview that she had not written the diary in detail because she wanted to explain it in person. She mentioned that some of her friends from Mumbai had dropped by.

> ... and then we came to my house, we chit-chatted and then we put on music on my laptop and we were dancing. We were copying Sunny Deol [a Bollywood actor] in that song from that movie. It was hilarious [...] three girls dancing. And then we cooked a meal. We were at home. Just relaxing, eating, cooking ... – Richa (London, 22nd July, 2009)

The 'consumption practice' of watching a Bollywood song on the Internet is akin to Bell and Valentine's (1997) assertion about food and how consumption practices are reflections of one's identity and one's "place in the world" (Walsh, 2006: 136). Walsh (2006) discusses the significance of watching a DVD (of a television series from England by expats in Dubai) with friends as a leisure activity which also signifies a shared culture. As a result of sharing this activity, Richa and her friends create a wider sense of home through sociality.

Anthony liked 'gaming' with his friends and watching movies on his laptop. An excerpt from Anthony's diary (London, 28th July- 3rd August, 2009) revealed that a typical Sunday would be spent 'gaming' with his friends on the laptop for as long as four hours, indicating the carefree-ness of student life. The difference between Richa's and Anthony's evening spent at home with friends suggested the gendered nature of socializing.

In general, students in London tended to have social gatherings in the kitchen area rather than the room itself. This is because of the differences in the floor plans of the residences in London and Toronto. In London, the common area was the kitchen and the more private area was the room where close relationships and friendships were entertained. On the other hand, the student apartments in Toronto, and especially those in YU were individual flats which allowed for more space for entertaining

friends, birthday parties, or for having a girl's night in. Fig. 98 depicts Prasanna's birthday party, and Fig. 99 is a photograph of Shruti's pyjama party.

Figure 98: Prasanna's birthday party

Figure 99: Shruti's pyjama party with her girlfriends

Friendship networks (Bunnell *et al*, 2011) remain an important part of the everyday lives of the Indian students. Friday dinner clubs held a special charm for Khushi and her friends because they provided an opportunity to discuss the teething problems they were facing as MA/PhD students in the comfort and confines of their dwellings.

> ... we decided to have these Friday dinner clubs. Fridays used to be very intense for almost of us in the course. So nobody would be studying on Friday evenings or on Saturdays. So we would meet up

> on Fridays at someone's house [...] One person would cook and we would all get drunk, bitch about everybody else in the department and then sleep well on Saturday and start work on Sunday ... – Khushi (Toronto, 20th November, 2009)

Since Khushi's friends were a mixed group of Canadian and English postgraduate students, much can be said about such social events being helpful for students, both domestic and international in coping with the daily stress of academic life. In fact, such social activities also help Indian students to understand and acclimatise to the culture of their host country (Hendrickson *et al*, 2011). As Khushi demonstrated, the everyday lives of Indian students involve making new friendships and these are forged within the walls of the dwelling. Further on in the interview, Khushi had stated that the first semester of her arrival in Toronto, she did not go out at all. So, her primary social space was her apartment. She continued to have friends over even after she moved with her husband to a downtown Toronto apartment (Fig. 100).

Figure 100: Having friends over for dinner

Friendship and social networks, virtual or face-to-face play a significant role in the place-making and sense-making practices of Indian students within the space of their dwelling. While they still remain strongly connected with their 'roots' in India, they forge new friendships in their current locations. The space of the dwelling is thus

simultaneously a transnational and translocal social space. It is within the space of the room that the Indian students create and sustain connections with the local and the global. This directly relates to the argument that it is this strong sense of rootedness that Indian students maintain with their home in India, that they are able to cope with the social and cultural differences of their host countries.

Conclusions

Feeling at home/not at home within the space of the dwelling is negotiated by Indian students through a number of socio-spatial strategies. Although the dwelling space is envisioned as temporary (due to the contested nature of the students' identities), home-making is, nonetheless, a significant and processual means through which students create a sense of comfort and belonging. The dwelling is also a site of sociality. It is where local friendships are formed and transnational links with family (mostly in India) and friends (in India and elsewhere) are maintained. These home-making practices also appear to be gendered and pertain to the continuation of similar experiences back home. Material objects and re-enactment of memories and sensory experiences add a new dimension to the maintenance of transnational links (apart from ICT) and establishing translocal networks even within the termporary-ness of students' dwellings.

These connect the spatial scales and indicate a continuum in the migration experiences from the global to the urban to the university to the dwelling and finally, back to the global, transnational social fields.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

It has been my aim in this thesis to understand and explore Indian students' experiences of home and belonging and to insert Indian students within the academic research on international students. By exploring Indian students' experiences of home and belonging, the study has revealed the multiple subjectivities associated with different socio-spatial interactions in the city, university, and dwelling. The focus on 'home' and 'belonging' has also provided a nuanced understanding of how links between the three spaces shape students' experiences of an international education. The study further extends 'learning' beyond the formal spaces of education and 'home' beyond the space of the dwelling. By adopting a comparative approach, the importance of place has been further analyzed through the different spatial practices of Indian students in London and Toronto.

The research revealed that Indian students demonstrated multi-layered and complex subjectivities as students, migrants, and tourists/travellers, who negotiate everyday im/mobilities both locally and transnationally. The idea of home is strongly linked to these subjectivities because Indian students draw on dis/connections with an originary (spatial and social) home in India while remaining deeply embedded within notions of familiarity and belonging locally. This feeling of rootedness in India provided them with a sense of emotional belonging, albeit to a place far away, and allowed them to navigate the social and cultural 'routes' in an unknown land. Home is therefore simultaneously an imaginary, sensory, and a physical space located socially, spatially and temporally both 'here', 'there', and 'in-between' and is evoked through material objects (sacred and non-sacred), memory, food, and friendship networks. Drawing on the

comparative narrative analysis between the two cities was a valuable way to understand Indian students' experiences of home in London and Toronto in different socio-spatial contexts as processual, mobile, and emplaced.

8.1. Empirical contributions

The comparative study of the two cities not only brought 'place' within the centre of the discourse, but also revealed the non-homogeneous identity of an 'Indian student' (See Chapter Four). There appeared to be different kinds of Indian students with different aspirations and expectations from their migration experiences depending on how they viewed UK and Canada. Connecting this with ideas of 'home' and 'belonging', it was observed that in Toronto the immigration situation was experienced as more permanent, while in London, students viewed their international experience as more of a sojourn. This conclusion was drawn from the number of students holding a PR, applying for one, or contemplating applying. As a result of this difference in the way in which the students envisioned their temporary-ness or relative permanence, their experiences of home varied across different spaces and places.

More students considered London to be 'home' than they did Toronto. The factor that was more significant than immigration laws in contributing to feelings of belonging in the city was the presence of friendship networks (See Chapter Five). On the other hand, London came across as a more accessible city. This was reflected in the ways and degrees of interaction with urban spaces. While students in London appeared to find 'special places' to spend time with their friends, or even alone, students in Toronto were generally more alienated from urban spaces. Apart from using friendship networks to make themselves at home within urban spaces, Indian students (especially

in London) also ventured out into the city alone and explored these spaces on foot. There were distinct differences in the urban spatialities of students in London and Toronto which may have a tenuous relationship with ideas of permanence/temporary-ness. While students in London seemed to explore the city more often than their Toronto counterparts, those in Toronto commuted long distances to buy groceries to cook Indian food. This was partly due to urban form and the weather, both of which affected the everyday geographies of the students. In order to feel at home in the city, students seemed willing to step out of their comfort zones to have new experiences while simultaneously seeking out familiar places. Another factor for this apparent disparity between urban spatialities of students in the two cities was the location of their residences within the urban fabric.

The students who lived in university halls considered the university not only as an academic space but also a social and residential space. Conceptualizing the academic institution as a residential space has allowed for a more nuanced understanding of the everyday lives of international students whose main purpose for migration is arguably, gaining an international degree. The spaces within the university which were mentioned by the students as both a social space and an academic space were the library and classrooms. While traditionally, these spaces may be considered as only an academic space, Indian students provided a different view. Students in London used the library more often than those in Toronto. Although there are several variables which may contribute to this difference in spatial practice (See Chapter Six), what seems most important for the students was the availability of friends. Students in London used the library (also) as a social space while students in Toronto socialized with their friends in the classroom. Similarly, open spaces on campus were mostly used as places where they spend time alone (with exceptions). In terms of pedagogic practices, experiences of

Indian students, although diverse, seemed to conform generally with the notion that international students have difficulties in contributing to class discussions. On the other hand, their experiences with the English language provide a counterview as most students claimed to be comfortable speaking and understanding it. In fact, they used their fluency in the language to subvert the 'gaze', while simultaneously catering to the power binaries of self/other. They used their proficiency in the English language as a tool to question the stereotype of the international student who is unable to speak, write, or understand English. In their view, their language skills also empowered them by positioning them as the 'self' and other non-English speaking European students or Canadian students from immigrant families as the 'other'. This deliberate strategy helped to make them feel at home within the spaces of the university. By exploring the university as a residential space, the study has focused more closely on how Indian students articulate home within the spaces of the campus, which, for 24 students who lived in university halls also included their study-bedrooms. Socializing in the study-bedroom also contributed to their sense of belonging in the campus.

Making themselves at home within the dwelling spaces (in this case, the study-bedroom) actively involved home-making practices such as those employed by transnational migrants. This was done with the help of memories (of a home in India), senses (related to the idea of a home elsewhere), and material objects. Emotions and sensory experiences formed the basis of home-making within dwelling spaces. Memories and emotions cannot be separated from their sociality and dwelling spaces revealed the importance of transnational (family and friendship) ties for Indian students. The students' study-bedroom (in most cases) was also a translocal space because local friends were also entertained within the same space. The contested and contradictory nature of the binaries of local/global, public/private, im/mobile, and

temporary/permanent were explicated through the ways in which the space of the study-bedroom is practised by the students (See Chapter Seven). While the students live locally in their respective dwellings, they maintain transnational links with family and friends in India and elsewhere. Their bedrooms are intensely private spaces[126] but they are also social spaces where they 'hang out' with close friends or other flatmates/housemates. It is not uncommon for international students to move residences. This is especially true of students in the UK where university residence is only provided for the first year owing to the high demand. In Toronto too, students discussed moving in and out of different residences within campus and shared experiences of moving out of campus. Several factors determined these decisions including but not limited to, changes in marital status, roommate/landlord problems, or financial difficulties. Hence, although Indian students appeared to be immobile in their location in London or Toronto, their homes were mobile within the city. Another interesting finding of the research was the impact that architecture or design of the dwelling had on the students' feeling of home/not home. Finally, the home-making practices of the students connecting it to a home in India made it both materially and imaginatively mobile, while also connecting the local and global.

This multi-layered articulation of what it means to feel at home was analyzed based upon the idea of permanence/temporary-ness. Although 24 students of the study returned (or planned to return) to India after their studies, 12 students also contemplated staying on[127]. So, overall, it can be concluded that the stay was temporary for most students. Despite that, their home-making practices in the three designated spaces revealed that they desired a certain degree of permanence, especially within the

[126] See Chapter Three, Section 3.4.3.
[127] This was based on the number of students who held a permanent residency, had applied for one, or were contemplating applying for one.

spaces of the study-bedrooms. Destabilizing these binaries reveals the inherent complexities and contradictions that are embedded within the broader debates on home and belonging in the context of migration and higher education.

In terms of methods, I have used creative qualitative methods to understand the everyday nature of the lived experiences of Indian students. The use of a multi-methods approach was a significant step towards viewing the everyday lives of Indian students from their perspective. This was a deliberate strategy to reverse the gaze of the 'west' by providing visual, textual, and oral narratives of everyday lives of international students. International students are mostly studied by western academia from an objective distance, but my own positionality not only as a researcher, but also an Indian student in London with experience of being an international student in Toronto is enmeshed within the research. The material generated from the interviews, diaries, and photographs has provided a more nuanced understanding of the everyday lives of Indian students in a 'foreign' country. Although limitations of the research were acknowledged at the outset, there were others which were encountered along the way. Stumbling blocks for this research can be stepping stones for more scholarly work on international students to follow.

8.2. Theoretical implications

An international degree is the main reason for student migration. However, an international education is not limited to pedagogical learning in formal educational spaces. It is the holistic approach to 'learning' that is the focus of this thesis. By including feelings of 'home' and 'belonging' as part of the 'international experience', the

study has shown that considering every aspect of the student experience is an important way to understand the spatiality of education as a locally and globally connected network of 'learning'. International student migration is usually framed within the dialectic of permanent/temporary with most studies focusing on their 'sojourn' but recently, several studies have revealed that student visas are 'switched' to permanent residency status. Situating 'home' and 'belonging' within this broad theoretical framework has explored home as processual; as always in a state of flux, always 'becoming'. This is more so in case of international students who aspire for some degree of permanency in their 'temporary' dwellings, and temporary-ness in their (relatively) permanent location in the cities by being 'tourists'. Apart from addressing a number of theoretical and empirical gaps in the academic scholarship about international students, the research also contributes to the field of Social and Cultural Geography by providing a more nuanced understanding of the everyday lived experiences of international higher education.

My research contributes to critical geographies of home as a site of power and identity; home as imagined, material, and lived; as well as home as multi-scalar. By exploring how Indian students experience feeling at home/not at home, the study views home as processual. The multi-layered identities of Indian students are revealed in different articulations of home and belonging not only within the space of the dwelling but also as 'stretched' (Ahmet, 2013) into urban spaces. In the city, home is experienced mainly through im/mobilities. This contests the idea of home as stable and immobile. Feeling at home/not at home in the city is viewed through the lens of safety, familiarity, and comfort, all of which are affected by levels of mobilities within the city and through the existence of friendship networks. The thesis contends that feelings and emotions attached to places or place-belongingness (Antonsich, 2010) are affected by the degree

of mobility/immobility within the city spaces. The research therefore, contributes to Fallov *et al*'s (2013) theorization of im/mobilities and belonging.

Community forms the link between feeling of home/not home and spaces on campus. Montgomery and McDowell's (2009) 'community of practice' is a useful way to think about ways in which Indian students attach meanings and emotions to places on campus. In this respect, the research contributes to 'geographies of architecture' (Kraftl, 2010; Kraftl and Adey, 2008) since Indian students' connections with buildings and built environments (on campus) and their feelings of belonging in these places are explored. Indian students of my study attached different meanings to the buildings on campus and these had a wide-ranging impact on their feeling at home/not at home within these spaces. My study also illustrated how these meanings shift and change, allowing for the temporal dimension of home and belonging. International students' experiences of university spaces is a lacuna that I have attempted to fill through the empirical research on university spaces. Due to limited studies of international students' use of university spaces, this part of the study contributes to theorizations of physical 'learning spaces' (Oblinger, 2008) and social aspects of learning though 'community of practice' (Montgomery and McDowell, 2009). Addressing this issue will not only help in understanding how international students conceptualize university spaces, but will also aid in universities concerned with providing adequate counselling and 'pastoral care' (Sawir *et al*, 2009) to international students, not only in the classroom but also in residences. This seems to be relevant in the present context of internationalization of higher education since universities are expanding their horizons and harnessing the spending power of international students. Since international students live mostly in university residences, more attention can be paid to the way these spaces are used by this group. It is argued that students who are exposed to

intercultural contact with other international and domestic students in shared university residences, experience university life in a much more holistic way than those who choose to live with co-national friends. The residence buildings which are designed to facilitate social interaction help students to experience their life in a foreign country in a broader sense and not limit their experiences to their classrooms. The residential space of the university, therefore, plays a significant role in creating a truly 'international experience' (Waters and Brooks, 2011).

International students have usually been studied as the 'other' in the academic literature, who are different from domestic students in terms of their proficiency of the English language, and who are generally unable to 'integrate' within the international higher education scenario. My research on Indian students in London and Toronto simultaneously conforms with and disrupts general views about international students. My study supports Sawir *et al*'s (2012) claim that Indian students do not face difficulties with the English language. The research also deconstructs the idea of a singular category of the 'Indian student' by investigating the multi-dimensional nature of their identities as reflected in their spatial practices. This is important research at a time when geographers are increasingly becoming interested in unravelling the social, spatial, and temporal nature of geographies of education and children's/youth geographies.

The relationship between architectural design and its affectual qualities on the everyday lives of Indian students as experienced in the study-bedrooms is also an important theoretical contribution that the study makes. This is particularly true of the role of windows in their domestic lives. The 'dwelling' signifies the more physical and stable aspect of home and belonging. But this does not imply its immobility because Indian students, through their everyday transnational practices transcend dichotomies of global/local and time/space. Their home-making practices also demonstrate this

spatio-temporal boundary-crossing between past/present, and here/there. The dwelling space as home for international students is an important lens to think about how students connect with a past and a future, by locating their sense of belonging simultaneously in two (or more) places. This sense of connection with 'home' and 'belonging' is most strongly and tangibly felt and is a much more straight-forward engagement with ideas of home and belonging as processual and relational. The study of dwelling spaces indicates the importance of 'home' space in the feeling of belonging during the international sojourn. When domestic spaces of migrants or transnationals are discussed in the academic literature, it is mainly theorized as a 'permanent' residential situation and therefore, the 'home-making' practices of Indian students shed new light on the binary understanding of permanent/temporary. The underlying theoretical framework of the geographies of home and belonging in the context of migration supports and differs from current research on international higher education more generally, and international students, more specifically.

My research supports Baas' (2010) and Robertson's (2011) study about Indian students in Australia regarding their propensity to 'switch' visas. The present study also supports the literature about international students' dependence on rational choice and a more individual decision-making process. Fincher and Shaw's (2009) finding about the possible spatial 'unintentional segregation' of students is also echoed in the everyday lives of Indian students in Toronto. Also, like Fincher and Shaw's (2011) study, my research indicates that residential type, location, and social networks all play a crucial role in determining the spatialities of Indian students in the two cities. Owing to the lack of local social networks, their residence in the cities is in localized pockets at best and their connections with the existing Indian diaspora are tenuous or even non-existent, in most cases. In this sense, Indian students in London and Toronto are

similar to those of Baas' (2010) students in Australia. In Baas' (2010) study, Indian students participated in community activities like celebrating Holi at the local temple but their socializing remained limited and confined to their own group and at the periphery of the diasporic community. My research findings are also similar to Conradson and Latham's (2007) theorization of London's 'affective possibilities' as an important part of the 'overseas experience' of young New Zealanders. Montgomery's (2010) theorization of the 'community of practice' wherein the students depend on each other to adjust in the new environment has also found resonance in my research. My study also supports Holdsworth's (2006) research on the relationship between local students and the university campus, while also locating Indian students within the discourse of the university as a 'familiar' space (Holdsworth, 2009). It broadly supports the gendered understanding of home and home-making practices. The cultural implications and replications of these processes also remain embedded within the discussion and provide a deeper understanding of the geographies of home.

My study differs from Waters' (2006) study of Hong Kong students who migrate to Canada for the purpose of education and utilize their social and cultural capital to adjust to their lives there. Indian students did not seem to have any such social networks to provide the much-needed emotional support at least during the initial phase of adjustment. Also Waters' (2009) research reveals that middle-class families are greatly involved in the migration process and may even migrate with the students. Indian students in my study mostly migrate alone, and in cases when they do get permanent residency (in Canada), their spouses join them. There were no instances of entire families moving to the country. It also differs from Collins' (2010) study about the impact of the international students' presence on the urban fabric. Indian students of my study did not appear to have such a wide-ranging impact as agents of change on

the urban landscape of London or Toronto. This can be attributed to a long-established Indian diasporic community in London. In Toronto, Indian students consist of a small percentage of migrants from various ethnic backgrounds. While Andersson *et al*'s (2012) study focuses on aspects of 'difference' in inter-cultural encounters, my study differs from this by demonstrating the campus as a 'transitional space' which helps to get them acclimatized to 'difference' in the world outside. The study does not so much differ as much as it adds to the discussion of students' dwelling spaces. Collins' (2011) research identified the transnational spaces of interaction within urban spaces in New Zealand. My research reveals that domestic space is conceived as not only a transnational space where connections with distant people and places are maintained, but also as a social space where new friendships are forged.

8.3. Limitations of the research and future recommendations

In retrospect, limited time was the biggest challenge I faced during the recruitment phase of the research, especially in Toronto. Since I was in Toronto for four months (due to limited funding), locating the students and conducting interviews during such a short time period proved difficult. However, the challenge was eventually overcome but a decision had to be made regarding the number of participants (as detailed in Chapter Three). The Indian student population in Toronto is diverse in terms of their residential locations. Hence, locating them was time-consuming mainly because they appeared to be quite isolated from the main student body. Later, empirical investigation revealed that their apparent invisibility was due to several factors including, but not limited to, their friendship networks with co-national friends.

As my study has revealed, there is an absence of geographical research on the spatialities of Indian students in Indian cities, universities, and homes. Melissa Butcher's (2010, 2011) study of young people in Delhi and a couple of doctoral studies on young people in Pune (Platz, 2012 and Habersack, 2010) show how further research in this direction will not only help understand the urban spatialities of Indian students in the context of Indian cities, but also how their spatialities 'at home' inform their engagements with similar spaces when they migrate outside India. In light of the above discussion, I would like to carry forward my research in this direction in the future.

For Indian students, an international education is not a cause, but a result of 'the culture of mobility'. They view their international degrees as a way to explore the world and their own identities, while living alone and away from family (in most cases), and which can later be converted into economic capital if and when they wish to return home. This is related to the aspirations of the Indian upper middle-class and the importance it lays on 'going abroad'. Different migration trajectories also revealed that postcolonial linkages are being questioned and neo-imperial connections are being explored by young people in India but that the hegemony of 'western' education still remains deeply entrenched in the Indian psyche. Perhaps this is not one-dimensional as it first appears. Further research into motivations for gaining an international education will throw light on this aspect of migration. It will also help in understanding the relationship between this 'culture of mobility' among the upper-middle class in India not least because it has been projected (Gopinath, 2014), that by 2020 India will have the largest youth population in the world. Their increased global mobility will have a significant impact on global economy and shape the way internationalization of higher education is conceptualized.

Feeling at home within different spaces of the city, university, and dwelling is an important aspect of the lives of international students and contributes significantly to how they experience their 'international education'. Exploring feelings of 'home' and 'belonging' for international students not only counters the 'deficit discourse' related to international students' experiences but also provides a more nuanced understanding of their lives. Universities can provide enhanced pastoral care for international students not only within the classrooms but also in residences within and outside the university. My study has not only situated Indian students within the discourse on international students, but the comparative approach has also demonstrated the need to acknowledge the diversity and heterogeneity of the 'Indian student' in terms of their spatialities and expectations from their international education.

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A

INFORMATION SHEET

Queen Mary
University of London

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

Experiencing 'home' in the city, university, and dwelling: Everyday geographies of Indian students in London and Toronto

My name is Subhadra Roy. I am a PhD student in the Geography department at Queen Mary, University of London. I would like to invite you to take part in this research project, if you would like to. You should only agree to take part if you want to, and not because you are pressured to do so. If you choose not to take part there will not be any disadvantages for you and you will hear no more about it. Before you decide whether you want to take part or not, it is important for you to read the following information carefully to understand what the research will entail. This will tell you why the research is being done and what you will be asked to do if you take part. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Outline of the research

As an Indian international student, I am interested in the lived experiences of Indian students who are living and studying in a foreign land. Since most international students are considered temporary migrants who in most cases return to their home countries, I think these are key issues which need to be discussed. I am interested in finding out what international students do, where they go, and with whom, and why they occupy these places and not others, in their daily lives. I also want to know how Indian students experience cultural difference and sameness with respect to their experiences in India. For this purpose, three different spaces—universities, homes and the city have been delineated.

What is involved in the research?

I would like to meet up with you at least twice over the course of a couple of months. I will talk to you about your life experiences as a student and will centre on the importance of education, the people who inspired and motivated you, how and why you made the decision to obtain a foreign degree, and how you selected the destination country and/or city. The interview will be conducted at a place and time convenient for you. The interview should last no more than 2 hours. With your permission, the

interview and all subsequent interviews or discussions will be recorded. You may decide not to give permission for recording the interviews.

Individual activities: I will hand you a diary and a disposable camera. I will ask you to maintain a journal for a typical week in your life here as an international student. The purpose of the journal is to understand your daily life as an international student, focusing mainly on the urban spaces and places (e.g. a coffee shop, the library, a museum, a restaurant/locality where you go with your friends on weekends, a grocery shop or a temple) that you frequent that make up your daily life. I will ask you to take photographs of these significant places for better illustration. Once you complete writing your diary, I would like to meet you to discuss what you have written, along with the photographs which you have taken to better understand and also to fill up gaps in the diary.

Group activities: The photographs and diaries will be discussed with you and with your permission, could be included in the research write-up. This activity will last for about 2 hours. All interviews or discussions, with your permission, will be recorded.

Confidentiality and anonymity

If you decide to participate in my research, your anonymity is guaranteed in all the writings and presentations that will follow. I will change your names and any other specific details which may reveal your identity. All information gathered during interviews will be kept confidential. The information that I get from you will only be used for the purpose of research. With your permission, interviews will be tape-recorded. While transcribing the interviews, all details identifying you (including names) will be deleted. Tapes, transcripts and other materials will be kept in a secure location and will be destroyed seven years after the end of the project.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. It is very important that your participation is voluntary. Please participate because you want to and not because you feel under pressure to do so. If you do decide to take part you will be given a copy of this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form to say that you agree. You are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Appendix B

CONSENT FORM

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title: **Experiencing 'home' in the city, university, and dwelling: Everyday geographies of Indian students in London and Toronto**

Queen Mary Research Ethics Committee Ref: **QMREC 2008/63**

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organizing the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.

- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

- *I understand that my participation in this research is entirely voluntary and confirm that I have not been pressured to do so.*

- *I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.*

- *I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.*

Participant's Statement:

I, _____ agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed: Date:

Investigator's Statement:

I, Subhadra Roy, confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Signed: Date:

Appendix C

Interview I Sample questions

Demographic

Name:

Sex: Male/female

Age group: 21-25/26-30/31-35/36-40/41-45

Relationship status: single/engaged/ in a relationship/married/divorced/partner

If you are engaged/in a relationship, then where does your significant other live?

Ethnicity:

Languages you speak:

Languages you are comfortable speaking in:

Religion:

Home town in India:

Education and employment details

Name of college/university in London/Toronto:

Degree studying for:

Experience of being a student in India

Experience of being a student here

How did you come to know about the course: internet/professors/friends/agency/

Other_____

What degree did you earn in India?

Did you work before you came here? Yes/No If yes, then for how long?

What was the type of employment?

Where in India were you working?

If not home town, then what was the reason for the move?

Do you miss not working? If yes, then why?

How is being employed different from being a student?

What do you like about being a student here?

How is it different from being a student in India?

Living

Where in the city do you live?

What is your mode of accommodation: campus residence/private house/rented house/ shared flat or apartment/ shared house/ other?

How did you find your accommodation?

Do you live alone or with others? [Here you can ask about significant others and where they live]

What is/are the ethnicity of the people you live with?

How long have you been in this accommodation?

Have you moved since you came here? If yes, then how many times have you moved? Can you name the places of your prior residences?

Who helped you to move?

Details about funding for study

How are you funded?

If not, then...

Questions on immigration

Are you permitted to work here? If yes, then what are the criteria?

How long are you permitted to stay here? Are you permitted to stay on after the completion of the course? If yes, then for how long?

Do you plan to stay after the completion of your course? If yes, then why?

What kind of job will you be seeking if you stay on or if you return?

Travel and living

Is this your first trip/stay abroad? If no, then where else have you been?

How long did you stay in your previous trips?

Can you tell me how those experiences were different from this experience?

How would you describe the first few weeks of moving here?

Did you have difficulty in settling down? If yes, then what kind of problems did you face?

How would you describe your living experience in London/Toronto?

Questions about the university

Why did you choose to come to the UK/Canada?

Why not USA?

Why did you select this institution?

Did you get in touch with professors before you applied?

How would you describe your experience as a student in London/Toronto?

Did you feel any difference with other international students? Did you feel an difference with other domestic students?

Did/do you have problems communicating in English? Did/do you have trouble understanding the language? Did you have to take any additional courses in English?

How would you describe the services for international students? Have they been helpful for you?

Questions about the city

What did you know about London/Toronto before you came here?

How did you learn about the city?

Did what you saw match what you had heard/seen?

What was the one thing that was most commonly said in India about London/Toronto?

Family

What inspired you to decide to go abroad? Are you the first in your family to go abroad for higher education?

Are you the first among your friends to go abroad for higher education?

How important has education been in your family?

How much support did you get about this decision?

Who was the most supportive about this decision?

Did anyone help you pack? If so, then who helped you to pack your bags?

Did you have people (friends/family) come to the airport to see you off?

Questions on home

What would you say is the best and worst thing about India, the city, and the state that you come from?

What do you miss most about India?

What is home for you?

Do you miss home? Do you miss India?

What do you miss about home?

Have you made a trip back home? If yes, then how frequently?

If no, then can you give me the reasons for not doing so? When do you plan to go next?

On your visit back home, or on your planned visit back home, did you/do you plan to bring back things from home? Can you tell me what those things were/will be?

Why are these things important to you?

When you came here, what were the things that you brought with you?

What was the significance of these things for you?

What would you say is the best and worst thing about UK/Canada, London/Toronto?

What was your first impression of the city? What did you feel in the first few weeks of coming here?

Are those feelings different now? If so, then how? Please explain.

General questions about the everyday

Can you describe a typical Saturday?

Can you describe a typical Sunday?

Can you describe a typical week?

Do you prefer eating out to cooking? What kind of food do you prefer cooking?

Questions related to identities

What kind of music do you like listening to?

What kinds of movies do you like watching?

What kinds of clothes do you like wearing?

Would you say your preferences have changed after you came here? If so, then in what way?

Is there something or things you do here that you did not do when you were in India?

Is there something or things that you don't do here that you did when you were in India?

Something you hate doing here.

Something you love doing here.

If so, then what are they?

What do you think is the reason behind this/these changes?

In your previous/planned visit back home, did you/do you think you will miss something about life here?

Appendix D

Interview II sample questions

Everyday places, self and activities:

- Which would you say were the typical places that you go to?
- Typically, with whom to do go to these places? Do you go alone or with others?
- What do you feel when you go to these places?
- Usually, how do you travel to these places?
- In your everyday life, which would you say are the unusual places that you don't go to all that often?
- What do you think are the reasons that make these places unusual?
- Which would be the places you avoid going to?
- Why do you avoid them?
- Which are the special places in your life here?
- What makes them special?
- Are there places that you would like to go to, but haven't yet? If so, then why?
- Are there places that you liked and would like to visit again? If so, then why?
- Why was it important for you to get an international degree? Despite taking on a loan and London being an expensive city, you still decided to pursue it. Can you tell me why?
- What, in your opinion would be something that is typically London, something that if you did not do, would not make a stay in London (no matter how short) complete?
- Do you watch plays?
- Do you watch operas?
- Have you been to the Royal Albert Hall?
- What about the museums in London?

[Similar questions will be asked about the different kinds of activities that they mention.]

People, space and activities:

Friends:

- Who are the friends you spend most of your time with?
- How do you keep in touch with them?
- Where do they live? (if locally, then locations; if internationally, then cities)
- How much time do you spend with them? (daily, weekly)

- What do you feel when you spend time with them?
- Where do you spend time?
- How do you spend time with them? (E.g. talking, watching movies etc.)
- Can you tell me about your friends? Do you have more male/female friends? Do you have more Indian/international friends?
- Do you go to different places with different friends?
- How did you meet your new friends?
- Where did you meet them?

Family:

- Where do most of your family live? (if locally, then locations; if internationally, then cities)
- How do you keep in touch with family 'back home'?
- What are the predominant feelings for which you like keeping in touch with them? Can you tell me more about why it is important for you to keep in touch with them?
- How much time do you spend with them? (daily, weekly)
- Where (if local) do you spend time?

Space, experiences (feelings) and identities

- How would you identify yourself as, first and foremost?
- Can you give an example of how this might change in different situations?
- Which are the ethnic groups of people that you identify/are comfortable with?
- Which are the ethnic groups that you participate within?
- Can you tell me about what it means to be an Indian?
- Can you tell me about certain characteristics which you think, are typically Indian (or other regional identifications like Bengali)?
- Do you think that there is anything called Indian-ness?
- Which would you call the 'Indian spaces', here? Why do think they are 'Indian'?
- How often do you go to these places and why?
- How do you feel when you are in these places?
- With whom to go to these places?
- Can you tell me about your initial experience here as an international student?
- Can you recall the places that you visited when you first came here?
- With whom did you go to these places?
- What was your impression of these places?
- What was your impression of your accommodation when you first moved here? Has that impression changed? If so, in what way?
- What did you think about the university during your first few weeks? Has that impression changed? If so, in what way?
- Can you describe any positive experiences (alone or with other people) you have had in your stay here as a student?

- Can you describe any negative experiences (alone or with other people) you have had in your stay here as a student?
- Can you tell me about places where you feel safe/unsafe, comfortable/uncomfortable, afraid/confident? Why do you feel this way in these spaces? What do these spaces mean to you? With whom do you go to these places?
- Which spaces do you feel happy or relaxed in? Why do you feel this way in these spaces? What do these spaces mean to you? With whom do you go to these places?
- Which do you think, are the predominantly 'white/black spaces'? How do you feel in these places? With whom do you go/not go to these places?
- Can you tell me about some other ethnic enclaves in the city that you know of? How do you feel in these places? With whom do you go/not go to these places?
- Are there places where you become more aware of being an Indian, a woman/man, a student, and/or an international student? Why do you feel this way in these spaces? What do these spaces mean to you? With whom do you go to these places?
- As an international student, do you ever feel the need to express your regional identity? Or have you ever felt the need to hide it?

Methodology

- Can you tell me about your experience of taking photographs in the different spaces?
- How did you find the activity different or similar to other forms of taking photographs?
- Can you describe your experience of writing the diary?
- How was it different from writing a diary for your eyes only?
- In our everyday lives, we tend not to think about the mundane. So, can you tell me what did you learn from this exercise of looking closely at your life?
- How difficult or easy was it for you to record your life this way?

Appendix E

Interview schedule

Pseudonym	Initial meeting	Interview I: Date	Interview II: Date	Diary
Indranil	14th April, 2009	20th May, 2009	29th June, 2009	
Vidya	9th June, 2009	9th June, 2009	21st July, 2009	Yes
Lakshmi	8th June, 2009	10th June, 2009	24th June, 2009	
Pooja	14th April, 2009	17th June, 2009	15th July, 2009	Yes
Anuradha	9th June, 2009	22nd June, 2009	24th July, 2009	Yes
Vivek		24th June, 2009	24th July, 2009	
Shankar		25th June, 2009	3rd July, 2009	
Anjali		30th June, 2009	23rd July, 2009	Yes
Narayanan		1st July, 2009	20th July, 2009	Yes
Murthi		1st July, 2009	3rd August, 2009	
Teresa		2nd July, 2009	22nd August, 2009	
Rishi		2nd July, 2009	3rd August, 2009	Yes
Nisha		6th July, 2009	22nd July, 2009	Yes
Soroshi	14th April, 2009	9th July, 2009	22nd August, 2009	
Anirban	30th June, 2009	10th July, 2009	17th July, 2009	
Eeshwar	18th June, 2009	13th July, 2009	20th July, 2009	Yes
Tanvi	7th July, 2009	13th July, 2009	6th August, 2009	
Richa		15th July, 2009	22nd July, 2009	Yes
Anthony		27th July, 2009	22nd August, 2009	Yes
Gautam		1st September, 2009	19th September, 2009	Yes
Rohan		25th September, 2009	26th September, 2009	

Josh		7th October, 2009	3rd December, 2009	
Khushi		20th November, 2009	4th December, 2009	Yes
Kiran		21st November, 2009	22nd November, 2009	
Saurav		3rd December, 2009	11th December, 2009	
Nayantara		5th December, 2009	22nd December, 2009	Yes
Monica		11th December, 2009	23rd December, 2009	Yes
Amitav		17th December, 2009	22nd January, 2010	
Tarun		20th December, 2009	29th January, 2010	
Shruti		20th December, 2009	28th January, 2010	
Madan		21st December, 2009	18th January, 2010	
Prasanna		21st December, 2009	22nd January, 2010	
Raj		22nd December, 2009	24th January, 2010	Yes
Sahil		23rd December, 2009	21st January, 2010	
Gitanjali		19th January, 2010	27th January, 2010	
Praveen		23rd January, 2010	29th January, 2010	

Appendix F

Examples of field notes

A friend who was doing her PhD from SOAS had sent out an email and Lakshmi had showed interest in being a participant. This was my second interview with Lakshmi. We set up the meeting in her residence (courtyard) because she was writing her dissertation and did not want to commute. I figured that she wanted to get the interview out of the way so that she could get back to her dissertation. But when we started the interview, she did not rush through it at all. In fact, she took her time and discussed each photograph (47) while orally narrating her week. With the laptop open before her she checked the dates constantly and narrated what she had done on that day. When I commented on her sharp memory, she laughed and said that she had made an effort to remember each day not only because of the interview but also because she would be leaving London soon and wanted to remember every detail.

Example 1: London, 24th June, 2009.

We did the interview in the courtyard of her accommodation. It was interesting to chart out her daily life and see their visual representations through photographs. What was also interesting is that I found her to be much more relaxed than last time. She is also the first participant with whom I completed the whole task. So, I'm excited to see what comes out of the data. It was also interesting to note what she said about London being a beautiful city and that there is too much beauty around. It kind of reminded me of that line from American Beauty. I also noticed that a lot of issues emerged from the second interview which I had asked in the first interview, issues related to her identity and things which she spoke about on her own. As for the photos, I had expected a little more. I had expected her to take pictures of places that reflected something of her. She did mention that she had enjoyed taking the photos. Also, the fact that she actually had not written a journal was interesting because she seemed to remember things in quite detail about the week in which she took photos. An interesting thing she mentioned was that 'home' for her is a mobile concept and something that is not static. In fact, she even mentioned that she would prefer that it was not static. She preferred it that it was not 'one' place that she could call home. She mentioned her dislike of Ealing and East Ham being places which had 'culture thrown at you'. Her view of London or at least the way she wanted to view London. I don't know.

Things that I thought of are:

- Temporary-ness
- Mobile/Fluid/cosmopolitan identities?
- Notion of 'home' for international students...is there such a thing?
- International student identity v/s Indian student identity (maybe I need to look up the literature on representation of the city through the eyes of Indians)
- Notion of Indian-ness—multiple, varied
- Also the concept that Indian students seem to take on a few things about the culture but also try to preserve some of their own (Amitav Ghosh's article on what is Indian?), so even as a student, they do the same—similar practices
- Not immigrants-- no sense of longing for home
- Tourists, yes-- but only some of the times
- Transnational migrants, perhaps
- Travellers—certainly-- I think they see themselves as on vacation.

The following is another example of field notes. During my fieldwork in Toronto, I realized that a number of themes were beginning to emerge. The most notable among those were the differences in everyday lives of students in London and Toronto. I got Amitav's contact from the South Asian Business Council at the Schulich School of Business at York University. Since I was living on YU

campus and so was he, I conducted the interview in my apartment. He came across as a very friendly and open person. He spoke at length on every topic and mentioned the importance of windows, not only in his apartment but also when he went to the library to study. This was something that I remembered making a mental note of. Later, this became an important part of Chapter Seven.

Example 2: Toronto, 17th December, 2009

I had a very interesting interview with Amitav. It did not feel like I was interviewing him. Perhaps it had a lot to do with his personality and also the fact that he is doing an MBA. I have noticed that somehow people who do an MBA tend to be good speakers and also they have very set notions about things. Anyway, for whatever reason, it seemed that we covered every topic that I could think of and he seemed interested in sharing his views. There was a long talk about religion and windows! Largely, I would say that people prefer not to talk about religion, but when people do, they seem to have either an in-depth idea about it or they have strong opinions about it. Amitav made an interesting comment about *karmabhumi*, what he called "work-home" and *janmabhumi*, what he called "home-home". So essentially Canada is the former and India is the latter. Before we started the interview, we had an informal chat, after which he decided to participate. We talked about some stuff then, which I tried to bring up during the interview.

A few things that came up

- Windows and the importance of natural light
- Life revolving around the campus
- Toronto not leaving much of an impression—just like any other big, metropolitan city
- Comparison with Delhi and Toronto in terms of people and noise and the lack thereof in TO
- Home means family and home as ever-changing
- Idea about India having many commonalities despite the differences
- Thinking of Canada along with the US as potential place for studies
- Travelling and importance of getting an international experience

APPENDIX G

Example of coding

The following is an example of coding an interview. An excerpt from Amitav's interview transcript has been provided to explain how I coded the transcripts. Descriptive coding of his answer to the question 'what is home for you?' had spatial and social complexities. Analytical codes were more specific to the understanding of home and belonging in terms of binaries such spatial/temporal and permanent/temporary, to name a few.

Transcript	Descriptive code	Analytical code
Subhadra: What is home for you? Amitav: ... Toronto is my work home, as in, if I decide I can work here [...] because I can't be working here and saying that I don't belong here. India would be the core home. Yeah, like you say in Hindi *janmabhoomi* versus *karmabhoomi*. It's like that but a little more than that because this is my *karmabhumi* but I am also here for making relationships, knowing more people. So, it's like having more homes	Workplace as home Future immigration plans Belonging Birthplace as home *Janma* means birth, and *bhoomi* is earth or land in Sanskrit. So, the literal translation of *janmabhoomi* is birthplace, or more commonly used, homeland. Feeling at home was dependent on friendships Here and there	Home and belonging as • Temporal (past/future) • Spatial (India and Toronto) • Multiple and simultaneous here/there) • Mobility/stasis • Permanent/temporary • A social process

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbott-Chapman, J. & Robertson, M. (2009). Adolescents' favourite places: redefining the boundaries between private and public space. *Space and Culture*, *12*(4), 419-434.

Adams, M. & Guy, S. (2007). Senses and the city. *Senses and Society*, *2*(2), 133-136.

Adams, P. & Ghose, R. (2003) India.com: the construction of a space between. *Progress in Human Geography, 27*, 414–37.

Adams, P.C. & Skop, E. (2008). The gendering of Asian Indian transnationalism on the Internet. *Journal of Cultural Geography*, *25*(2), 115-136.

Adey, P. (2010). *Mobility*. London: Routledge.

Adkins, L. (2002). Reflexivity and the politics of qualitative research. In May, T. (Ed.) *Qualitative Research in Action* (pp.332-48). London: Sage.

Adriansen, H.K. & Madsen, L.M. (2009). Studying the making of geographical knowledge: The implications of insider interviews. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, *63*(3), 145-153.

Ahmed, S., Castaneda, C., Fortier, A-M. & Sheller, M. (Eds). (2003). *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Berg: Oxford/New York.

Ahmet, A. (2013). Home sites: the location(s) of 'home' for young men. *Urban Studies*, *50*(3), 621-634.

Aitken, S.C. & Wingate, J. (1993). A preliminary study of the self-directed photography of middle class, homeless, and mobility-impaired children. *Professional Geographer*, *45*(1), 65-72.

Al-Ali, N. & Koser, K. (Eds.). (2002). *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. London and New York: Routledge.

Alberts, H. C. & Hazen, H. D. (2005). "There are always two voices...": International Students' intentions to stay in the United States or return to their home countries. *International Migration*, *43*(3), 131-152.

Altbach, P.G. (1989). The New Internationalism: foreign students and scholars. *Studies in Higher Education*, *14*(2), 125-136.

Altbach, P.G. (2004). Globalisation and the university: myths and realities in an unequal world. *Tertiary Education and Management 10*, 3-25.

Anderson, V.R. (2012). 'Homes' and being 'at home' in New Zealand: women's place-making in internationalised higher education. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, *19*(3), 327-343.

Andersson, J., Sadgrove, J. and Valentine, G. (2012). Consuming campus: geographies of encounter at a British university. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *13*(5), 501-515.

Antonsich, M. (2010). Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework. *Geography Compass*, *4*(6), 644-659.

Ashutosh, I. (2012). South Asians in Toronto: geographies of transnationalism, diaspora, and the settling of differences in the city. *South Asian Diaspora*, *4*(1), 95-109.

Baas, M. (2006). Students of migration: Indian overseas students and the question of permanent residency. *People and Place*, *14*(1), 9-24.

Baas, M. (2010). *Imagined Mobility Migration and Transnationalism among Indian Students in Australia*. London: Anthem Press.

Baas, M. (2014). Victims or profiteers? Issues of migration, racism and violence among Indian students in Melbourne. *Asia Pacific Vienpoint*, *55*(2), 212-225.

Bairner, A. (2011). Urban walking and the pedagogies of the street. *Sport, Education and Society*, *16*(3), 371-384.

Baláž, V. & Williams, A.M. (2004). 'Been there, done that': International student migration and human capital transfers from the UK to Slovakia. *Population, Space and Place, 10*, 217-37.

Barber, T. (2014). Performing 'Oriental' masculinities: embodied identities among Vietnamese men in London. *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.879101

Barker, J. & Smith, F. (2001). Power, Positionality and Practicality: Carrying out Fieldwork with Children. *Ethics, Place & Environment: A Journal of Philosophy & Geography*, *4*(2), 142-147.

Basch, L., Glick Schiller, N. & Szanton Blanc, C. (Eds.). (1993). *Nations Unbound: Transnational projects, global predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Baxter & Eyles (1997). Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *22*, 505-525.

Beech, S. E. (2014). Why place matters: imaginative geography and international student mobility. *Area*, doi: 10.1111/area.12096

Beekhoven, S., De Jong, U. & Hout, H Van. (2004). The impact of first-year students' living situation on the integration process and study progress. *Educational Studies*, *30*(3): 277–90.

Belanger, C., Syed, S. & Mount, J. (2007) 'The make up of institutional branding: Who, what, how?' *Tertiary Education and Management*, *13*(3), 169-185.

Bell, D. &Valentine, G. (1997). *Consuming Geographies: We are Where we Eat*. London: Routledge.

Bell, L. (1998). Public and private meanings in diaries: researching family and childcare. In Ribbens, J. & Edwards, R. (Eds.) *Feminist dilemmas in qualitative research: public knowledge and private lives* (pp.72-86). London: Sage.

Bhattacharya, T. (2007). Tracking the Goddess: Religion, Community, and Identity in the Durga Puja Ceremonies of Nineteenth-Century Calcutta. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, *66*(4), 919-962.

Bhopal, K. (1997). *Gender, 'race' and patriarchy : a study of South Asian women*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Bickford, D.J. & Wright, D.J. (2006). Community: the hidden context for learning. In Oblinger, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Learning Spaces*. Washington DC: Educause.

Bijoux, D. &Myers, J. (2006). Interviews, solicited diaries and photography: 'New' ways of accessing everyday experiences of place. *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, *4*(1), 44-64.

Bille, M. & Sørensen, T.F. (2007). An anthropology of luminosity the agency of light. *Journal of Material Culture*, *12*(3), 263-284.

Binnie, J., Edensor, T., Holloway, J. Millington, S. & Young, C. (2007a). Mundane mobilities, banal travels. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *8*(2), 165-174.

Binnie, J., Holloway, J., Millington, S. & Young, C. (2007b). Mundane geographies: alienation, potentialities, and practice. *Environment and Planning A*, *39*, 515-520.

Blunt, A. & Bonnerjee, J. (2013). Home, city and diaspora: Anglo–Indian and Chinese attachments to Calcutta. *Global Networks*, *13*(2), 220–240.

Blunt, A. & Dowling, R. (2006). *Home*. London and New York: Routledge.

Blunt, A. & Rose, G. (Eds.). (1994). *Writing Women and Space Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies*. New York and London: The Guildford Press.

Blunt, A. (2000). Spatial stories under siege: British women writing from Lucknow in 1857 *Gender, Place and Culture*, *7*, 229-46.

Blunt, A. (2005). Cultural geography: cultural geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography*, *29*(4), 505-515.

Blunt, A. (2007). Cultural geographies of migration: mobility, transnationality and diaspora. *Progress in Human Geography*, *31*(5), 684-694.

Bochner, S., Hutnik, N., & Furnham, A. (1985). The friendship patterns of overseas and host students in an Oxford student residence. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, *125*(6), 689–694.

Boland, P. (2010). Sonic geography, place and race in the formation of local identity: Liverpool and scousers. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, *92*(1), 1–22.

Bowlby, S. (2011). Friendship, co-presence and care: neglected spaces. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(6), 605-622.

Brickell, K. & Datta, A. (2011). *Translocal Geographies Spaces Places Connections*. London: Ashgate.

Brickell, K. (2012a). 'Mapping' and 'doing' critical geographies of home. *Progress in Human Geography, 36*(2), 225-244.

Brickell, K. (2012b). Visual critiques of tourist development: Host-employed photography in Vietnam. *Tourism Geographies: An International Journal of Tourism Space, Place and Environment*, *14*(1), 98-116.

Brooks, R. & Waters, J. (2009a). A Second Chance at 'Success': UK Students and Global Circuits of Higher Education. *Sociology*, *43*(6), 1085-1102.

Brooks, R. & Waters, J.L. (2009b). International higher education and the mobility of UK students. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *8*(2), 191-209.

Brooks, R. & Waters, J.L. (2010). Social networks and educational mobility: the experiences of UK students. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *8*(1), 143–157.

Brooks, R., Waters, J.L. & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2012). International education and the employability of UK students. *British Educational Research Journal*, *38*(2), 281-298.

Brown, J. & Talbot, I. (2006). Making a new home in the diaspora: opportunities and dilemmas in the British South Asian experience. *Contemporary South Asia*, *15*(2), 125-131.

Brown, L. & Aktas, G. (2012). Turkish university students' hopes and fears about travel to the west. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *11*(1), 3–18.

Brown, L. & Holloway, I. (2008). The initial stage of the international sojourn: excitement or culture shock? *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, *36*(1), 33-49.

Brown, L. & Jones, I. (2013). Encounters with racism and the international student experience. *Studies in Higher Education*, *38*(7), 1004-1019.

Brown, L. (2009a). A failure of communication on the cross-cultural campus. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *13*(4), 439-454.

Brown, L. (2009b). The transformative power of the international sojourn An Ethnographic study of the international student experience. *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. *36* (3), 502–521.

Brown, L. (2009c). An ethnographic study of the friendship patterns of international students in England: An attempt to recreate home through conational interaction. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *48*(3), 184-193.

Brown, L., Edwards, J. & Hartwell, H. (2010). A taste of the unfamiliar: Understanding the meanings attached to food by international postgraduate students in England. *Appetite*, *54*(1), 202-207.

Bryne, J. & Wolch, J. (2009). Nature, race, and parks: past research and future directions for geographic research. *Progress in Human Geography*, *33*(6), 743–765.

Buettner, E. (2008). "Going for an Indian": South Asian Restaurants and the limits of multiculturalism in Britain. *The Journal of Modern History*, *80*, 865–901.

Bunnell, T., Yea, S., Peake, L., Skelton, T. & Smith, M. (2012). Geographies of friendships. *Progress in Human Geography*, *36*(4), 490-507.

Butcher, M. (2009). Ties that bind: the strategic use of transnational relationships in demarcating identity and managing difference. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(8), 1353-1371.

Butcher, M. (2010a). From 'fish out of water' to 'fitting in': The challenge of re-placing home in a mobile world. *Population, Space and Place*, *16*, 23-36.

Butcher, M. (2010b): Navigating 'New' Delhi: moving between difference and belonging in a globalising city. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *31*(5), 507-524.

Butcher, M. (2011, July). *The struggle to belong dealing with diversity in 21st century urban settings.* Paper presented at the International RC21 conference Session 10.2: Negotiating Social Mix in Global Cities, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Cahill, C. (2000). Street literacy: urban teenagers' strategies for negotiating their neighbourhood. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *3*(3), 251-277.

Caluya, G., Probyn, E., & Vyas, S. (2011). 'Affective eduscapes': the case of Indian students within Australian international higher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *41*(1), 85-99.

Campbell, N. (2012). Promoting intercultural contact on campus: a project to connect and engage international and host students. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *16*(3), 205-227.

Campbell, N. and Li, M. (2008). Asian Students' Voices: An Empirical Study of Asian Students' Learning Experiences at a New Zealand University. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *12*, 375-396.

Carlson, S. (2013). Becoming a mobile student – a processual perspective on German degree student mobility. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(2), 168-180.

Chalmers, D. & Volet, S. (1997). Common Misconceptions about students from South-East Asia studying in Australia. *Higher Education Research and Development*, *16*(1), 87-99.

Chambers, D. (2003). Family as place: family photograph albums and the domestication of public and private space. In Schwartz, J.M. & Ryan, J.R. (Eds.) *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. (pp. 96-114). London: IB Tauris.

Chan, D. & Drover, G. (1997). Teaching and Learning for overseas students the Hong Kong Connection. In McNamara, D. and Harris, R. (Eds.) *Overseas Students in Higher Education Issues in Teaching and Learning*. London and New York: Routledge.

Chang, T.C. (2000). Singapore's Little India: A Tourist Attraction as a Contested Landscape. *Urban Studies*, *37*(2), 343-366.

Chapman, T. and Hockey, J. (Eds.). (1999). *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*. London and New York: Routledge.

Charmaz, K. (2002). Qualitative interviewing and grounded theory analysis in Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (eds.) *Handbook of Interview Research Context and Method*. Thousand Oaks; London; New Delhi: Sage.

Chatterton, P. & Hollands R. (2002). Theorizing urban playscapes: producing, regulating and consuming youthful nightlife city spaces. *Urban Studies*, *39*(1), 95-116.

Chatterton, P. (1999). University students and city centres—the formation of exclusive geographies the case of Bristol, UK. *Geoforum* 30 : 117-33.

Cheng, Yi'En. (2013). Telling stories of the city: walking ethnography, affective materialities, and mobile encounters. *Space and Culture*, *XX*(X), 1-13. DOI: 10.1177/1206331213499468

Chism, N. (2006). Challenging traditional assumptions and rethinking learning spaces. In Oblinger, D. (Ed.) *Learning Spaces*. Washington DC: Educause.

Christie, H. (2007). Higher education and spatial (im)mobility: non-traditional students and living at home. *Environment and Planning A*, *39*, 2445-2463.

Christie, H., Munro, M. & Rettig, H. (2002). Accommodating students. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *5* (2), 209-235.

Cieraad, I. (2010). Homes from home: memories and projections. *Home Cultures*, *7*(1), 85-102.

Cieraad, I. (Ed.) (1999). *At home An Anthropology of Domestic Space*. Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: travel and translation in the later twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J. 1994. Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 9, pp.302-38.

Clifford, N., French, S. & Valentine, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Key Methods in Geography*. Los Angeles; London; New Delhi; Singapore; Washington, DC : Sage.

Cloke , P., Cooke, P., Cursons, J., Milbourne, P. & Widdowfield, R. (2000). Ethics, Reflexivity and Research: Encounters with Homeless People. *Ethics, Place & Environment: A Journal of Philosophy and Geography*, *3*(2), 133-154.

Coakley, L. (2012) Polish Encounters with the Irish Foodscape: An Examination of the Losses and Gains of Migrant Foodways. *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, *20*(3-4), 307-325.

Coles, R. & Swami, V. (2012). The sociocultural adjustment trajectory of international university students and the role of university structures: A qualitative investigation. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *11*(1), 87-100.

Collins, F.L. (2004). (Trans)national Bodies, (Trans)national languages and the transformation of local urban space. *New Zealand Geographer*, *60*(1), 52-59.

Collins, F.L. (2006). Making Asian students, making students Asian: The racialisation of export education in Auckland, New Zealand. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, *47*(2), 217-234.

Collins, F.L. (2008a). Of kimchi and coffee: globalisation, transnationalism and familiarity in culinary consumption. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *9*(2), 151-69.

Collins, F.L. (2008b). Bridges to learning: international student mobilities, education agencies and inter-personal networks. *Global Networks*, *8*(4), 398-417.

Collins, F.L. (2009a). Connecting home with here: personal homepages in everyday transnational lives. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *35*(6), 839-859.

Collins, F.L. (2009b). Transnationalism unbound: detailing new subjects, registers and spatialities of cross-border lives. *Geography Compass*, *3*(1), 434-458.

Collins, F.L. (2010a). International students as urban agents: International education and urban transformation in Auckland, New Zealand. *Geoforum, 41*, 940-950.

Collins, F.L. (2010b). Negotiating Un/Familiar Embodiments: Investigating the corporeal dimensions of South Korean international student mobilities in Auckland, New Zealand. *Population, Space and Place*, *16*, 51-62.

Collins, F.L. (2012a). Transnational mobilities and urban spatialities: Notes from the Asia-Pacific. *Progress in Human Geography*, *36*(3), 316-335.

Collins, F.L. (2012b). Researching mobility and emplacement: Examining transience and transnationality in international student lives. *Area, 44*(3), 296-304.

Conradson, D. & Latham, A. (2005a). Friendship, networks and transnationality in a world city: Antipodean transmigrants in London. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(2), 287-305.

Conradson, D. & Latham, A. (2005b). Transnational urbanism: attending to everyday practices and mobilities. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(2), 227-233.

Conradson, D. & Latham, A. (2007). The affective possibilities of London: Antipodean transnationals and the overseas experience. *Mobilities*, *2*(2), 231-254.

Conradson, D. & McKay, D. (2007). Translocal subjectivites: mobility, connection, emotion. *Mobilities*, *2*(2), 167-174.

Cook, I. & Crang, M. (1995). *Doing Ethnographies*. London: Sage.

Cook, I. (2008). Geographies of food: mixing. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(6), 821-833.

Cope, M. (2010). Coding Transcripts and Diaries. In Clifford, N., French, S. & Valentine, G. (Eds.) *Key Methods in Geography* (pp.440-452). Los Angeles; London; New Delhi; Singapore; Washington, DC : Sage.

Coward, F.L. & Miller, P.C. (2010). Navigating the graduate seminar discussion: A qualitative analysis of international students' experiences. *International Journal of Communication*, *4*, 1013-1031.

Coward, M. (2012). Between us in the city: materiality, subjectivity, and community in the era of global urbanization. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *30*, 468-481.

Crang, M. (1997). Picturing practices: research through the tourist gaze. *Progress in Human Geography*, *21*(3), 359-73.

Crang, M. (2002). Qualitative methods: the new orthodoxy? *Progress in Human Geography 26*(5), 647-55.

Crang, M. (2005). Analyzing qualitative materials. In Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D. (Eds.) *Methods in Human Geography A guide for students doing a research project* (pp. 218-232). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Crang, P., Dwyer, C. & Jackson, P. (2003). Transnationalism and the spaces of commodity culture. *Progress in Human Geography*, *27*(4), 438-456.

Cresswell, T. (2003). Introduction: theorizing place in Verstraete, G. and Cresswell, T. (eds.) *Mobilizing place, placing mobility: the politics of representation in a globalized world.* Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the Move Mobility in the Modern Western World.* New York and London: Routledge.

Cresswell, T. (2010). Mobilities I: Catching up. *Progress in Human Geography*, *35*(4), 550-558.

Crouch, D. (2000). Places around us: embodied lay geographies in leisure and tourism. *Leisure Studies*, *19*(2), 63-76.

Crouch, D. (2006). Leisure/Tourism Geographies: Practices and Geographical Knowledge. London: Routledge.

Cuomo, D & Massaro, V.A. (2014). Boundary-making in feminist research: new methodologies for 'intimate insiders'. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. DOI: 10.1080/0966369x.2014.939157

Curley, P. (2003). Making campus a home. *Facility Planning*, August.

Cuyjet, M.J., Howard-Hamilton, M.F. & Cooper, D.L. (eds.) 2011. *Multiculturalism on campus: theory, models, and practices for understanding diversity and creating inclusion*.

Daniels, I.M. (2001). The "untidy" Japanese house. In Miller, D. (Ed.) *Home Possessions: Material Culture Behind Closed Doors*. (pp. 201-229). Oxford: Berg.

Datta, A. (2012). 'Where is the global city?' Visual narratives of London among East European migrants.*Urban Studies*, *49*(8), 1725-1740.

David, A.R. (2012). Sacralising the city: Sound, space and performance in Hindu ritual practices in London. *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *13*(4), 449-467.

Desforges, L., Jones, R. & Woods, M. (2005). New geographies of citizenship. *Citizenship Studies 9*, 439-51.

DeSouza, P.R., Kumar, S. and Shastri, S. (Eds.) (2009). *Indian Youth in a Transforming World Attitudes and Perceptions*. Los Angeles and London: Sage.

Dickinson, J.& Bailey, A.J. (2007). (Re)membering diaspora: Uneven geographies of Indian dual citizenship. *Political Geography*, *26*, 757-774.

Dittoe, W. (2006). Seriously cool places: future of learning-centred built environments. In Oblinger, D. (Ed.) *Learning Spaces*. Washington DC: Educause.

Dixon, D.P. & Straughan, E.R. (2010). Geographies of touch/touched by geography. *Geography Compass*, *4*(5), 449–459.

Dodman, D.R. (2003). Shooting in the city: an autophotographic exploration of the urban environment in Kingston, Jamaica. *Area, 35*(3), 293-304.

Dohmen, R. (2004). The home in the world: women, threshold designs and performative relations in contemporary Tamil Nadu, South India. *Cultural Geographies*, *11*, 7-25.

Dunn, K. (2005). Interviewing in Hay, I. (Ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography.* (pp. 79-105). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Duruz, J. (2002). Rewriting the village: geographies of food and belonging in Clovelly, Australia. *Cultural Geographies*, *9*, 373-88.

Dwyer, C., Gilbert, D. & Shah, B. (2013). Faith and suburbia: secularisation, modernity and the changing geographies of religion in London's suburbs. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *38*(3), 403-419.

Dyck, I. (1990). Space, time, and renegotiating motherhood: an exploration of the domestic workplace. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *8*, 459-83.

Dyck, I. (1993). Ethnography: A feminist method? *The Canadian Geographer*, *37*(1), 52-57.

Easthope, H. (2009). Fixed identities in a mobile world? The relationship between mobility, place, and identity. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *16*, 61-82.

Edensor, T. (2003). M6: junction 19 -16: defamiliarizing the mundane roadscape. *Space and Culture*, *6*, 151-168.

Edwards, B. (2000). *University Architecture.* London: Spon Press.

Ehrkamp, P. & Leitner, H. (2006). Rethinking immigration and citizenship: new spaces of migrant transnationalism. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 1591-97.

Ehrkamp, P. (2005). Placing Turkish identities: local attachments and transnational ties of Turkish immigrants in Germany. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*, 345-64.

Ellis, R. (2003). Picture imperfect? The cultural politics, interpretation and anxieties of self-directed photography picturing the home space. *Chimera Working Paper*, *1*, 1-21. University of Essex, Cholchester.

England, K. V.L. (1994). Getting personal: reflexivity, positionality, and feminist research. *Professional Geographer*, *46* (1), 80-89.

Evans, B. (2008). Geographies of Youth/Young People. *Geography Compass*, *2*(5), 1659-1680.

Fallov, M.A., Jørgensen, Knudsen, L.B. (2013). Mobile forms of belonging. *Mobilities*, *8*(4), 476-486.

Fincher, R. (2004). Gender and life course in the narratives of Melbourne's high-rise housing developers. *Australian Geographical Studies*, *42*(3), 325-338.

Fincher, R. & Costello, L. (2003). Housing ethnicity: multicultural negotiation and housing the transnational student. In Yeoh, B.S.A., Charney, M.W., & Kiong, T.C. (Eds.) *Approaching Transnationalisms: Studies on Transnational Societies, Multicultural Contacts, and the Imaginings of Home.* Boston: Kluwer.

Fincher, R. & Costello, L. (2005). Narratives of high-rise hosing: placing the ethnicized newcomer in inner Melbourne. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *6*(2), 201-217.

Fincher, R & Shaw, K. (2009). The unintended segregation of transnational students in central Melbourne. *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 1884-1902.

Fincher, R. & Shaw, K. (2011). Enacting separate social worlds: 'International' and 'local' students in public space in central Melbourne. *Geoforum*, *42* (5), 539-549.

Findlay, A., King, R., Stam, A. & Ruiz-Gelices, E. (2006). Ever Reluctant Europeans: The Changing Geographies of UK Students Studying and Working Abroad. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, *13*(4), 291-318.

Findlay, A., King, R., Stam, A. & Ruiz-Gelices, E. (2006). Ever reluctant Europeans the changing geographies of UK students studying and working abroad. *European Urban & Regional Studies, 13*(4), 291–318.

Findlay, A.M. & Li, F.L.N. (1997). An auto-biographical approach to understanding migration: the case of Hong Kong emigrants. *Area*, *29*(1), 34-44.

Findlay, A.M. & Stockdale, A. (2003). The temporal and social embeddedness of migration: A methodological exploration using biographical analysis. *Geography Research Forum*, *23*, 4-29.

Findlay, A.M., King, R., Smith, F.M., Geddes, A. & Skeldon, R. (2012). World class? An investigation of globalisation, difference and international student mobility. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *37*, 118-131.

Flowerdew, R. & Martin, D. (Eds.) *Methods in Human Geography A guide for students doing a research project* (pp.110-126). Harlow: Pearson Education Limited.

Forbes-Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Nylands, C., Ramia, G. & Sawir, E. (2009). Australian university international student finances. *Higher Education Policy*, *22*, 141–161.

Forsyth and Southworth, 2009). Cities afoot--pedestrians, walkability and urban design. *Journal of Urban Design*, *13*(1), 1–3.

Fouron, G. (2003). Haitian Immigrants in the United States: the imagining of where 'home' is in their transnational social fields. In Yeoh, Brenda.S.A., Charney, Michael.W. & Kiong, T.C. (Eds.) *Approaching Transnationalisms Studies on Transnational Societies, Multicultural Contacts, and the Imaginings of Home.* Boston; Dordrecht; London: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Frey, L. L., & Roysircar, G. (2006). South Asian and East Asian international students' perceived prejudice, acculturation, and frequency of help resource utilization. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *34*(4), 208-222.

Furnham, A. (1997). The experience of being an overseas student. In McNamara, D. & Harris, R. (Eds.) *Overseas Students in Higher Education Issues in Teaching and Learning.* London and New York: Routledge.

Ganga, D. & Scott, S. (2006). Cultural "insiders" and the issue of positionality in qualitative migration research: moving "across" and moving "along" researcher-participant divides. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *7*(3), Art 7. http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs060379.

Gao, M. & Liu, X. (1998). From Student to Citizen: A Survey of Students from the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Australia. *International Migration*, *36* (1), 27-48.

Gardiner, S., King, B. & Wilkins, H. (2013). Travel behaviours of international students: nationality-based constraints and opportunities. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, *19*(4), 287–299.

Gareis, E. (2000). Intercultural Friendship: Five case studies of German students in the USA. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *21*(1), 67-91.

Garmendia, M., Coronado, J.M. & Urenã, J.M. (2012). University students sharing flats: when studentification becomes vertical. *Urban Studies*, *49*(12), 2651-2668.

Garvey, P. (2005). Domestic boundaries privacy, visibility and the Norwegian window. *Journal of Material Culture*, *10*(2), 157-176.

Geddie, K. (2013). The Transnational Ties that Bind: Relationship Considerations for Graduating International Science and Engineering Research Students. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(2), 196-208.

Geogeghan, H. (2011). Dedicated instrument sniffers: Olfactive geographies and making space for smell. Working Paper.

Ghosh, A. (2000). Spaces of recognition: puja and power in contemporary Calcutta. *Journal of South African Studies*, *26*(2), 289-299.

Ghosh, S. & Wang, L. (2003). Transnationalism and Identity: a tale of two faces and multiple lives. *The Canadian Geographer*, *47*(3), 269-82.

Ghosh, S. (2013a). 'Am I a South Asian, really?' Constructing 'South Asians' in Canada and being South Asian in Toronto. *South Asian Diaspora*, *5*(1), 35-55.

Ghosh, S. (2013b). A passage to Canada: the differential migrations of South Asian skilled workers to Toronto. *International Migration and Integration*. DOI 10.1007/s12134-013-0298-0

Gill, N. & Bialski, P. (2011). New friends in new places: Network formation during the migration process among Poles in the UK. *Geoforum*, *42*, 241–249.

Gill, S. (2007). Overseas students' intercultural adaptation as intercultural learning: a transformative framework. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *37*(2), 167-183.

Gilmartin, M. (2008). Migration, Identity and Belonging. *Geography Compass*, *2*(6), 1837-1852.

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (1992). Transnationalism: a new analytic framework for understanding migration. In Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton-Blanc, C. (Eds.) *Toward a Transnational Perspective on Migration*. (pp. 1-24). New York: New York Academy of Sciences.

Glick-Schiller, N., Basch, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C. (Eds.). (1992). *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration: Race, Class, Ethnicity and Nationalism reconsidered*. New York: New York Academy of Science.

Glover, P. (2011a). International students: Linking education and travel. *Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *28*(2), 180-195.

Glover, P. (2011b). Comparison between domestic and international students' trip characteristics: evidence from an Australian university. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, *17*(4), 263–274.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2008). Masculinity and the home: a critical review and conceptual framework. *Australian Geographer*, *39*, 367-379.

Gorman-Murray, A. (2014). Twentysomethings and twentagers: subjectivities, spaces and young men at home. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*. DOI: 10.1080/0966369X.2013.879100

Gough, K. V. & Franch, M. (2005). Spaces of the street: socio-spatial mobility and exclusion of youth in Recife. *Children's Geographies*, *3*(2), 149-166.

Gregory, D. (1995). Imaginative geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, *19*, 447-485.

Gregory, D., Johnston, R., Pratt, G., Watts, M.J. & Whatmore, S. (Eds.). (2009). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Gribble, C. (2008). Policy options for managing international student migration: the sending country's perspective. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *30*(1), 25-39.

Gu, Q., Schweisfurth, M. & Day,C. (2010). Learning and growing in a 'foreign' context: intercultural experiences of international students. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *40*(1), 7-23.

Guarnizo, L.E. & Smith, M. P. (1998). The locations of transnationalism. In Guarnizo & Smith (Eds.) *Transnationalism from Below*. (pp. 3-34). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Halfacree, K.H. & Boyle, P.J. (1993). The challenge facing migration research: the case for the biographical approach. *Progress in Human Geography*, *17,* 333-48.

Hall, S. (2008). Geographies of business education: MBA programmes, reflexive business schools and the cultural circuit of capital. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *33*, 27-41.

Halualani, R.T. (2008). How do multicultural university students define and make sense of intercultural contact? A qualitative study. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *32*, 1-16.

Halualani, R.T., Chitgopekar, A., Huynh, J., Morrison, T. A., Dodge, Shaou-Whea P. (2004). Who's interacting? And what are they talking about?—intercultural contact and interaction among multicultural university students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *28*, 358-372.

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. (2009). *Ethnography Principles in Practice*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006). Mobilities, immobilities and moorings. *Mobilities*, *1*, 1-22.

Hanson Thiem, C. 2009. Thinking through education: the geographies of contemporary educational restructuring. *Progress in Human Geography*, *33*, 154-173.

Hari, A., McGrath, S., Preston, V. (2013, March). *Temporariness in Canada: establishing a research agenda*. CERIS Working Paper No. 99, Toronto, Canada.

Harker, C. (2009). Student im/mobility in Birzeit, Palestine. *Mobilities*, *4*(1), 11-35.

Harper, D. (2002). Talking about pictures: A case of photo elicitation. *Visual Studies*, *17*(1), 13-26.

Harris, A. (2012). The metonymic urbanism of twenty-first-century Mumbai. *Urban Studies*, *49*(13), 2955-2973.

Harrison, P. (2000). Making sense: embodiment and the sensibilities of the everyday. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *18*, 497-517.

Haugh, M. (2008). The discursive negotiation of international student identities, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *29*(2), 207-222.

Hawthorne, L. (2010). How valuable is "two step migration?" Labor market outcomes for international student migrants in Australia. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, *19*(1), 5-36.

Hayes, (2007). (Be)coming home an existential perspective on migration, settlement and the meanings of home. *Existential Analysis Journal of the Society for Existential Analysis*, *18*(1), 2-16.

Hazen, H. D. & Alberts, H. C. (2006). Visitors or Immigrants? International Students in the United States. *Population, Space and Place*, *12*, 201-216.

Heidegger, M. (1993) [1978] Building Dwelling Thinking in Krell, D.F. (Ed.) *Basic Writings from* Being and Time *(1927) to* The Task of Thinking *(1964)*. London: Routledge. 347-363.

Heller , E., Christensen, J., Long, L., Mackenzie, C.A., Osano, P.M., Ricker, B., Kagan, E. & Turner, S. (2011): Dear diary: early career geographers collectively reflect on their qualitative field research experiences. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, *35*(1), 67-83.

Hendrickson, B, Rosen, D. & Aune, R.K. (2011). An analysis of friendship networks, social connectedness, homesickness, and satisfaction levels of international students. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *35*, 281-295.

Highmore, B. (2009). The Taj Mahal in the High Street the Indian restaurant as diasporic popular culture in Britain. *Food, Culture and Society*, *12*(2), 173-190.

Ho, E. L-E. (2009). Constituting citizenship through the emotions: Singaporean transmigrants in London. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *99*(4), 788-804.

Ho, L-E, E. & Hatfield, M.E. (2011). Migration and everyday matters: sociality and materiality. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*, 707-713.

Holdsworth, C. (2006). 'Don't you think you're missing out, living at home?' Student experiences and residential transitions. *Sociological Review*, *54*(3), 495-519.

Holdsworth, C. (2009). `Going away to uni': mobility, modernity, and independence of English higher education students. *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 1849-1864.

Holloway, S.L. & Jöns, H. (2012). Geographies of education and learning. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *37*, 482–488.

Holloway, S.L., O'Hara, S.L. & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2012). Educational mobility and the gendered geography of cultural capital: the case of international student flows between Central Asia and the UK. *Environment and Planning A*, *44*, 2278 – 2294.

Holloway, S.L., Hubbard, P., Jöns, H. & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2010). Geographies of education and the significance of children, youth and families. *Progress in Human Geography*, *34*(5), 583-600.

Holton, M. & Riley, M. (2013). Student geographies: exploring the diverse geographies of students and higher education. *Geography Compass*, *7*(1), 61-74.

Hopkins, P. E. (2010). *Young People, Place and Identity*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hopkins, P.E. (2007). Young people, masculinities, religion and race: new social geographies. *Progress in Human Geography*, *31*(2), 163-177.

Hopkins, P.E. (2011). Towards critical geographies of the university campus: understanding the contested experiences of Muslim students. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *36*, 157-169.

Hörschelmann, K. & van Blerk, L. (2012). *Children, Youth and the City*. London: Routledge.

Holton, M. (2014). The geographies of UK university halls of residence: Examining students' embodiment of social capital. *Children's Geographies*, DOI: 10.1080/14733285.2014.979134

Holton, M. (2014). 'I already know the city, I don't have to explore it': Adjustments to 'sense of place' for 'local' UK university students. *Population, Space and Place*. DOI: 10.1002/psp.1866

Holton, M. (2015). Adapting relationships with place: Investigating the evolving place attachment and 'sense of place' of UK higher education students during a period of intense transition. *Geoforum*, *59*, 21-29.

Huang, R. (2008). Mapping educational tourists' experience in the UK: understanding international students. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*, (5), 1003-1020.

Hubbard, P. (2005). The geographies of `going out': emotion and embodiment in the evening economy. In Davidson, J., Bondi, L. & Smith, M. (Eds.) *Emotional Geographies*. (pp. 117-134). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Hubbard, P. (2005). The geographies of 'going out': emotion and embodiment in the evening economy. In Davidson, J., Bondi, L., Smith, M. (Eds.) *Emotional Geographies*. London: Ashgate.

Hubbard, P. (2008). Regulating the social impacts of studentification: a Loughborough case study. *Environment and Planning A*, *40*, 323- 341.

Hubbard, P. (2009). Geographies of studentification and purpose-built student accommodation: leading separate lives? *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 1903-1923.

Hui, A. (2013). Moving with practices: the discontinuous, rhythmic and material mobilities of leisure. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *14*(8), 888-908.

Ingold, T. (2005). The eye of the storm: visual perception and the weather. *Visual Studies, 20*, 97-104.

Ingold, T. (2007). Earth, sky, wind, and weather. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.), 13*(1), 19-38.

Iredale, R. (2001). The Migration of Professionals: Theories and Typologies. *International Migration, 39*(5), 7-26.

Jackson, P. (2001). Making sense of qualitative data. In Limb, M. and Dwyer, C. (Eds.) *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers: Issues and Debates*. (pp. 199-214). London: Arnold.

Jackson, P., Crang, P. & Dwyer, C. (Eds.). (2004). *Transnational Spaces*. London and New York: Routledge.

Jacob, J.M. & Merriman, P. (2011). Practising architectures. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(2), 211-222.

Jacobs, D.L. (1981). Domestic snapshots: towards a grammar of motives. *Journal of American Culture*, *4*, 93-105.

Jacobs, J.M. & Smith, S.J. (2008). Living room: rematerialising home. *Environment and Planning A*, *40*, 515-519.

Jacobs, J.M., Cairns, S. & Strebel, I. (2006). `A tall story...but, a fact just the same': the Red Road highrise as a black box. *Urban Studies*, *44*, 609-629.

Jamieson, P. (2003). Designing more effective on-campus teaching and learning spaces: A role for academic developers. *International Journal for Academic Development, 8*, 119–33.

Jamieson, P. (2005). Positioning the university library in the new learning environment. *Planning for Higher Education*, *34*, 5-11.

Jamieson, P. (2009). The serious matter of informal learning. *Planning for Higher Education. 37*(2), 18–25.

Jamieson, P., Fisher, K., Gilding, T., Taylor, P. & Trevitt, A. (2000). Place and space in the design of new learning environments. *Higher Education Research and Development, 19*, 221–36.

Janes, D. (2008). Beyond the tourist gaze? Cultural learning on an American 'semester abroad' programme in London. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *7*(1), 21-35.

Jayne, M., Holloway, S.L., & Valentine, G. (2006). Drunk and disorderly: alcohol, urban life and public space. *Progress in Human Geography*, *30*(4), 451–468.

Jayne, M., Valentine, G. & Holloway, S.L. (2008). Geographies of alcohol, drinking and drunkenness: a review of progress. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(2), 247-263.

Jayne, M., Valentine, G. & Holloway, S.L. (2010). Emotional, embodied and affective geographies of alcohol, drinking and drunkenness. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *35*, 540-554.

Jessop, T., Gubby, L. & Smith, A. (2012). Space frontiers for new pedagogies: a tale of constraints and possibilities. *Studies in Higher Education*, *37*(2), 189-202.

Jewett, S. (2010). "We're sort of imposters": negotiating identity at home and abroad. *Curriculum Inqiury*, *40*(5), 635-656.

Johnsen, S., May, J., & Cloke, P. (2008). Imag(in)ing 'homeless places': using auto-photography to (re)examine the geographies of homelessness. *Area*, *40*(2), 190-207.

Johnson, A.J. & Glover, T.D. (2013). Understanding urban public space in a leisure context. *Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, *35*(2), 190-197.

Johnson, J.M. (2002). In-depth interviewing. In Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (Eds.) *Handbook of interview research context and method*. Thousand Oaks; London and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Johnson, P. (2008). The modern cemetery: a design for life. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *9*(7), 777-790.

Johnston, R.J.; Gregory, D.; Pratt, G. & Watts, Michael (Eds.). (2000). *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers.

Jones, J.P. III, Nast, H., & Roberts, S. (1997). *Thresholds in Feminist Geography Difference, Methodology, Representation*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Jöns, H. (2009). 'Brain circulation' and transnational knowledge networks: studying long-term effects of academic mobility to Germany, 1954–2000. *Global Networks*, *9*(3), 315-338.

Jöns, H. (2011). Transnational academic mobility and gender. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *9*(2), 183-209.

Katz, C. (1992). All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *10*(5), 495-510.

Kell, P. & Vogl, G. (2008). Editorial: Perspectives on mobility, migration and well-being of international students in the Asia Pacific. *International Journal of Asia and Pacific Studies*, *4*(1), v-xviii.

Kelley, M.J., Pendras, M. & Minnella, H. (2012). Sketching culture, sketching nature: uncovering anchors of everyday nature for urban youth. *Social & Cultural Geography*, DOI:10.1080/14649365.2012.735690

Kember, D. (2000). Misconceptions about the learning approaches, motivation and study practices of Asian students. *Higher Education*, *40*, 99-121.

Kenten, C. (2010). Narrating oneself: reflections on the use of solicited diaries with diary interviews. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, *11*(2), http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1002160

Kenway, J. & Bullen, E. (2003). Self-representations of international women postgraduate students in the global university 'contact zone'. *Gender and Education*, *15*(1), 5-20.

Kenyon, L. (1999). A home from home students' transitional experience from home in Chapman, T. & Hockey, J. (Eds.) *Ideal Homes? Social Change and Domestic Life*. London and New York: Routledge.

Khozaei, F., Amole, D., Hassan, A.S. & Khozaei, Z. (2010). Female graduate students; perception of the relationships between the residence hall and home. *Asian Social Science*, *6*(10), 68-76.

Kim K. N. J. & Jogaratnam, G. (2006). Multidestination segmentation based on push and pull motives: pleasure trips of students at a U.S. university. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *21*(2/3), 19–32.

Kim, J. (2011). The birth of academic subalterns: how do foreign students embody the global hegemony of American universities. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, DOI: 10.1177/1028315311407510.

Kimmel, K. & Volet, S. (2012). University students' perceptions of and attitudes towards culturally diverse group work: Does context matter? *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *16*(2) 157-181.

King, R. & Raghuram, P. (2013). International student migration: mapping the field and new research agendas. *Population, Space and Place*. DOI: 10.1002/psp.1746

King, R. & Ruiz-Gelices, E. (2003). International Student Migration and the European 'Year Abroad': Effects on European Identity and Subsequent Migration Behaviour. *International Journal of Population Geography*, *9*, 229-52.

King, R. (2012). Geography and migration studies: retrospect and prospect. *Population, Space and Place*, *18*, 134-153.

Kneafesy, M. & Cox, R. (2002). Food, gender and Irishness: how Irish women in Coventry make home. *Irish Geography*, *35,* 6-15.

Knight, L., Hight, M. & Polfer, L. (2010). Rethinking the library for the international student. *Reference Services Review*, *38*(4), 581-605.

Kobayashi, A., Preston, V. & Murnaghan, A.M. (2011). Place, affect, and transnationalism through the voices of Hong Kong immigrants to Canada. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(8), 871-888.

Koehne, N. (2006). (Be)Coming, (Be)Longing: Ways in which international students talk about themselves, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, *27*(2), 241-257.

Kofman, E. (2000). The invisibility of skilled female migrants and gender relations in studies of skilled migration in Europe. *International Journal of Population Geography*, *6,* 45-59.

Koskela, H. & Pain, R. (2000). Revisiting fear and place: women's fear of attack and the built environment. *Geoforum*, *31*, 269-280.

Koskela, H. (1999). 'Gendered Exclusions': Women's Fear of Violence and Changing Relations to Space. *Geografiska Annaler Series B*, *81*(2), 111-124.

Kraftl, P. (2010). Geographies of architecture: The multiple lives of buildings. *Geography Compass*, *4*(5), 402-415.

Kraftl, P. & Adey, P. (2008). Architecture/affect/dwelling: geographies of being-in buildings. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, *98*(1), 213–231.

Kritz, M. M. & Caces, F. (1992). Science and technology transfers and migration flows. In Kritz, M.M., Lim, L. & Zlotnik, H. (Eds.) *International Migration Systems: A Global Approach.* (pp. 221-42). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kuh, G., Kinzie, J., Schuh, J. & Whitt, E. (2005). *Student success in college: creating conditions that matter*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Kuh, G.D. & Hall, J.E. (1993). Using cultural perspectives in student affairs. In G.D. Kuh (Ed.) *Cultural Perspectives in Student Affairs Work*. (pp. 1-20). Lanham, MD: American College Personnel Association.

Kuh, G.D. (2009). Understanding campus environments. In G.S. McClellan Stringer and Associates (Eds.) *The Handbook of Student Affairs Administration.* (pp. 59-80). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lahiri, S. (1999). *Indians in Britain: Anglo-Indian encounters, race, and identity, 1880-1930*. London: Frank Cass.

Lahiri, S. (2011). Remembering the city: translocality and the senses. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(8), 855-869.

Landry, C. (2006). *The Art of City-Making*. London: Earthscan.

Langevang, T. & Gough, K.V. (2009). Surviving through movement: the mobility of urban youth in Ghana. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *10*(7), 741-756.

Langevang, T. (2007). Movements in time and space: using multiple methods in research with young people in Accra, Ghana. *Children's Geographies*, *5*(3), 267-281.

Latham, A. (2003). Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method. *Environment and Planning A*, *35*, 1993-2017.

Latham, A. (2010). Diaries as a research method. In Clifford, N., French, S. & Valentine, G. (Eds.) *Key Methods in Geography* (pp.189-201). Los Angeles; London; New Delhi; Singapore; Washington, DC : Sage.

Lave, J. & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Law, L. (2001). Home cooking: Filipino women and geographies of the senses in Hong Kong. *Ecumene*, *8*, 264-283.

Lee, S.H. & Cox, C. (2007). Acculturation, travel, lifestyle, and tourist behaviour: a study of Korean immigrants in Australia. *Tourism Culture and Communication*, *7*(3), 183–196.

Leitner, H. & Ehrkamp, P. (2006). Transnationalism and migrants' imaginings of citizenship. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 1615-32.

Lewis, N. (2005). Code of practice for pastoral care of international students: making a globalising industry in New Zealand. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *3*, 5-47.

Ley, D. (2004). Transnational spaces and everyday lives. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, 29, 151-164.

Li, F.L.N., Findlay, A.M., Jowett, A.J. & Skeldon, R. (1996). Migrating to Learn and Learning to Migrate: A Study of the Experiences and intentions of International Student Migrants. *International Journal of Population Geography*, *2*, 51-67.

Li, M.Z. & Stodolska, M. (2007). Working for a dream and living for the future: Leisure constraints and negotiation strategies among Chinese international graduate students. *Leisure/Loisir*, *31*(1), 105-132.

Limb, M. & Dwyer, C. (Eds.). 2001. *Qualitative Methodologies for Geographers Issues and Debates*. London: Arnold.

Llewellyn-Smith & McCabe. (2008). What is the attraction for exchange students: the host destination or host university? Empirical Evidence from a study of an Australian university. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, *10*, 593-607.

Locher, J.L., Yoels, W.C., Maurer, D. & van Ells, J. (2005): Comfort Foods: An Exploratory Journey Into The Social and Emotional Significance of Food. *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment*, *13*(4), 273-297.

Lombard, M. (2013). Using auto-photography to understand place: reflections from research in urban informal settlements in Mexico. *Area*, *25*(1), 23-32.

Lombardi, M. & Wall, T. (2006). Perkins Library, Duke University. In Oblinger, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Learning Spaces*. Washington DC: Educause.

Longhurst, R. (2010). Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In Clifford, N., French, S. & Valentine, G. (Eds.) *Key Methods in Geography*. (pp.103-115). Los Angeles; London; New Delhi; Singapore; Washington, DC: Sage.

Longhurst, R. (2013). Using Skype to mother: bodies, emotions, visuality, and screens. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *31*, 664-679.

Longhurst, R., Johnston, L. & Ho, E. (2009). A visceral approach: cooking at home with migrant women in Hamilton, New Zealand. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *34*, 333-345.

Madge, C. Raghuram, P. & Noxolo, P. (2009). Engaged pedagogy and responsibility: A postcolonial analysis of international students. *Geoforum*, *40*, 34-45.

Marcus, G.E. (1995). Ethnography in/of the world system: the emergence of multi-sited ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *24*, 95-117.

Markwell, K.W. (2000). Photo-documentation and analyses as research strategies in human geography. *Australian Geographical Studies*, *38*(1), 91-98.

Marlina, R. (2009). 'I don't talk or I decide not to talk? Is it my culture?"-- International students' experiences of tutorial participation. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *48*, 235–244.

Martin, B. & Mohanty, C.T. (1986). Feminist politics: what's home got to do with it? In de Lauretis, T. (Ed.) *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Massey, D. (2005). *For Space*. London: Sage.

Matthews, H. (2003). The street as a liminal space: the barbed spaces of childhood. In Christensen, P. & O'Brien, M. (Eds.) *Children in the city: home, neighbourhood and community*. (pp. 101-117). London: Routledge.

Matthews, J. & Sidhu, R. (2005). Desperately seeking the global subject: international education, citizenship and cosmopolitanism. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 3*(1), 49-66.

Matthews, K.E., Andrews, V. & Adams, P. (2011). Social learning spaces and student engagement. *Higher Education Research and Development*, *30*(2), 105-120.

Mazzarol, T. & Soutar, G.N. (2002). "Push-pull" factors influencing international student destination choice. *The International Journal of Educational Management*, *16*(2), 82-90.

McDowell, L. (1992). Doing gender: feminism, feminists and research methods in human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS, 17*, 399-416.

McDowell, L. and Montgomery, C. (2006, July) *Social networks and the international student experience: a community of practice to support learning?* Paper presented at International Research Conference, Lancaster, UK.

McEwan, C. (2004). Transnationalism. In Duncan, J., Johnson, N. & Schein, R. (Eds.) *A Companion to Cultural Geography*. (pp. 485-98). Oxford: Blackwell.

Mee, K. & Wright, S. (2009). Geographies of belonging. *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 772- 779.

Mehta, R. & Belk, R.W. (1991). Artifacts, identity and transition: favourite possessions of Indians and Indian immigrants to the United States. *Journal of Consumer Research*, *17*(4), 398-411.

Mercer, K. (1987). *Black Hair Politics Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures*. New York/Cambridge, MA: The New Museum of Contemporary Art/The MIT Press.

Meth, P. (2003a). Entries and omissions: using solicited diaries in geographical research. *Area*, *35*(2), 195-205.

Meth, P. (2003b). Rethinking the "domus" in domestic violence: homelessness, space and domestic violence in South Africa. *Geoforum*, *34*, 317-328.

Meth, P. (2004). Using diaries to understand women's response to crime and violence. *Environment & Urbanization*, *16*(2), 153-164.

Michael, I., Armstrong, A. & King, B. (2003). The travel behaviour of international students: The relationship between studying abroad and their choice of tourist destinations. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, *10*(1), 57-66.

Middleton, J. (2009). `Stepping in time': walking, time, and space in the city. *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 1943-1961.

Middleton, J. (2010). Sense and the city: exploring the embodied geographies of urban walking. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *11*(6), 575-596.

Middleton, J. (2011). Walking in the city: the geographies of everyday pedestrian practices. *Geography Compass*, *5*(2), 90-105.

Miles, M. & Crush, J. (1993). Personal narratives as interactive texts: Collecting and interpreting migrant life-histories. *The Professional Geographer*, *45*(1), 84-94.

Milligan, C. & Wiles, J. (2010). Landscapes of care. *Progress in Human Geography*, *34*(6), 736–754.

Milligan, L., Pachauri, A., Jha, S., Zhou, T., Sondhi, G. & Rounsaville, C. (2011) Cutbacks in student immigration: a nail in the coffin for higher education in the UK? *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *41*(6), 839-856.

Mitchell, K. (1997). Different diasporas and the hype of hybridity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, *15*, 533–53.

Mitchell, K. (2004). Geographies of Identity: Multiculturalism Unplugged. *Progress in Human Geography*, *28,* 641-51.

Modly, A.R. (2009). Geography of fear: understanding students' sense of place. *Chrestomathy: Annual Review of Undergraduate Research, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, School of Languages, Cultures, and World Affairs, College of Charleston, 8*, 115-146.

Montgomery, C. & McDowell, L. (2009). Social networks and the international student experience an international community of practice? *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *13*(4), 455-466.

Montgomery, C. (2010). *Understanding the International Student Experience: Universities in the 21st Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morris, (2004). What we talk about when we talk about walking in the city. *Cultural Studies*, *18*(5), 675-/697.

Morrison, C-A. (2010) Heterosexuality and home: intimacies of space and spaces of touch, *Emotion, Space and Society*, *5*(1), 10-18.

Morrison, C-A. (2012). Solicited diaries and the everyday geographies of heterosexual love and home: reflections on methodological process and practice. *Area*, *44*(1), 68-75.

Moss, D. & Richter, I. (2010). Understanding young people's transition in university halls through space and time. *Young Nordic Journal of Youth Research*, *18*(2), 157-76.

Mullings, B. (1999). Insider or outsider, both or neither: some dilemmas of interviewing in a cross-cultural setting. *Geoforum*, *30*, 337-350.

Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2002). *Student mobility and narrative in Europe. The new strangers.* London: Routledge.

Muslim, M.H., Karim, H.A. & Abdullah, I.C. (2012). Satisfaction of students' living environment between on-campus and off-campus settings: a conceptual overview. *Procedia—Social and Behavioural Sciences*, *68*, 601-614.

Myers, J. (2010). Moving methods: constructing emotionally poignant geographies of HIV in Auckland, New Zealand. *Area*, *42*, 328–38.

Nagel, C. (2005). Skilled migration in global cities from 'Other' perspectives: British Arabs, identity politics, and local embeddedness. *Geoforum*, *36*, 197-210.

Nagel, C.R. & Staeheli, L.A. (2005). Citizenship, Identity and Transnational Migration: Arab immigrants to the United States. *Space and Polity*, *8*, 3-23.

Nairn, K., Higgins, J., Thompson, B., Anderson, M. & Fu, N. (2006). 'It's just like the teenage stereotype, you go out and drink and stuff': hearing from young people who *don't* drink. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *9*(3), 287-304.

Nakane, I. Silence and politeness in intercultural communication in university seminars. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *38*, 1811–1835.

Nandy, A. (2004). The changing popular culture of Indian food: preliminary notes. *South Asia Research*, *24*(1), 9-19.

Nast, H. (1994). Women in the field: critical feminist methodologies and theoretical perspectives. *Professional Geographer*, *46*, 54-102.

Nayak, A. (2006). Displaced masculinities: chavs, youth and class in the post-industrial city. *Sociology*, *40*(5), 813–831.

Nesbitt, E. (2006). Locating British Hindus' sacred space, *Contemporary South Asia*, *15*(2), 195-208.
New York/Cambridge, MA: The New Museum of Contemporary Art/The MIT Press.

Ni Laoire, C. (2008). 'Settling back'? A biographical and life-course perspective on Ireland's recent return migration, *Irish Geography*, *41*(2), 195-210.

Noland, C.M. (2006). Auto-photography as research practice: identity and self-esteem research. *Journal of Research Practice*, *2*(1), MI
http://jrp.icaap.org/index.php/jrp/article/view/19/65

Nowicka, M. (2007). Mobile locations: construction of home in a group of mobile transnational professionals. *Global Networks*, *7*(1), 69-86.

Nyland, C., Forbes-Mewett, H., Marginson, S., Ramia, G., Sawir, E. & Smith, S. (2009). International student-workers in Australia: a new vulnerable workforce. *Journal of Education and Work*, *22*(1), 1-14.

Oblinger, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Learning Spaces*. Washington DC: Educause.

Ono, H. & Piper, N. (2004). Japanese women studying abroad, the case of the United States. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *27*, 101-118.

Ossa-Richardson, A. (2007) 'A difficult place to find one's way about in', York University Campus and the Problem of Architectural Identity. Unpublished.

Pain, R. (2001). Gender, race, age and fear in the city. *Urban Studies, 38*(5–6), 899–913.

Paltridge, T., Mayson, S. & Schapper, J. (2010). The contribution of university accommodation to international student security. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, *32*(4), 353-364.

Papastergiadis, N. (1998). *Dialogues in the Diaspora: Essays and Conversations on Cultural Identity*. London: Reverse Oram.

Paterson, M. (2009). Haptic geographies: ethnography, haptic knowledges and sensuous dispositions. *Progress in Human Geography, 33*(6), 766-788.

Paul, T. (2012). Space, gender, and fear of crime: some explorations from Kolkata. *Gender, Technology and Development*, *15*(3), 411–435.

Peters, K., Elands, B. & Buijs, A. (2010). Social interactions in urban parks: Stimulating social cohesion? *Urban Forestry & Urban Greening*, *9*, 93–100.

Petridou, E. (2001). The taste of home. In Miller, D. (Ed.) *Home Possession Material Culture Behind Closed Doors*. (pp. 87-104). Oxford: Berg.

Phillips, D. (2010) Minority ethnic segregation, integration and citizenship: A European perspective. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(2), 209-225.

Phillips, D. (2014). Claiming spaces: British Muslim negotiations of urban citizenship in an era of new migration. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, doi: 10.1111/tran.12054

Phillips, D., Davis, C. & Ratcliff, P. (2007). British Asian narratives of urban space. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *32*, 217-234.

Pile, S. (2010). Emotions and affect in recent human geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *35*, 5-20.

Pink, S. (2004). *Home Truths: Gender, Domestic Objects and Everyday Life*. New York: Berg.

Pocock, D. (1993). The senses in focus. *Area*, *25*(1), 11-16.

Poland, B.D. (1995). Transcription quality as an aspect of rigour in qualitative research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 1*(3), 290-310.

Pratt, M.L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.

Preston, V., Kobayashi, A. & Man, G. (2006). Transnationalism, gender, and civic participation: Canadian case studies of Hong Kong immigrants. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 1633-51.

Price, M. & Benton-Short, L. (2008). *Migrants to the Metropolis: The Rise of immigrant Gateway Cities*. Syracuse, New Jersey: Syracuse University Press.

Raghuram, P. & Madge, C. (2006). Towards a method for postcolonial development geography? Possibilities and challenges. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*, *27*, 270-88.

Raghuram, P. (2013). Theorizing the spaces of student migration. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*(2), 138-54.

Ralph, D. & Staeheli, L.A. (2011). Home and migration: mobilities, belongings and identities. *Geography Compass*, *5*(7), 517-530.

Ramburuth, P. & McCormick, J. (2001). Learning diversity in higher education: A comparative study of Asian international and Australian students. *Higher Education*, 42, 333–350.

Reay, D., Crozier, G., & Clayton, J. (2009). 'Strangers in paradise'? Working-class students in elite universities. *Sociology*, *43*(6), 1103–1121.

Ritchie, B., Carr, N. & Cooper, C. (Eds.) (2003). *Managing Educational Tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View.

Ritchie, I. & Bauder, H. (2011). Toronto's Little India in residential context: a geographical analysis of census data. *Geography Publications and Research.* Paper 35. http://digitalcommons.ryerson.ca/geography/35

Rizvi, F., Lingard, B. & Lavia, J. (2006). Postcolonialism and education: negotiating a contested terrain. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, *14*(3), 249-262.

Rizvi, F. (2005). International education and the production of cosmopolitan identities. *RIHE International Publication* Series 9.

Roberts, M. & Turner, C. (2005). Conflicts of liveability in the 24-hour city: learning from 48 hours in the life of London's Soho. *Journal of Urban Design*, *10*(2), 171-193.

Robertson, S.K (2008). Residency, citizenship and belonging: choice and uncertainty for students-turned-migrants in Australia', *International Journal of Asia Pacific Studies*, *4*(1), 97-119.

Robertson, S.K. (2011a). Cash cows, backdoor migrants, or activist citizens? International students, citizenship, and rights in Australia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *34*(12), 2192-2211.

Robertson, S.K. (2011b). Student switchers and the regulation of residency: the interface of the individual and Australia's immigration regime. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*, 103-115.

Robinson, G.M. (1998). *Methods and techniques in Human Geography*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Robinson, J. (2006). *Ordinary Cities Between Modernity and Development*. London and New York: Routledge.

Robson, C. (2002). Interviews in *Real world research a resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers*. Malden, MA; Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.

Rodaway, P. (1994). *Sensuous Geographies Body Sense and Place*. London and New York: Routledge.

Rodger, S.C. & Johnson, A.M. (2005). The impact of residence design on freshman outcomes: dormitories versus suite-style residences. *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, *xxxv*(3), 83-99.

Rose, G. (1997). Situating knowledges: positionality, reflexivities and other tactics. *Progress in Human Geography*, *21*, 305-320.

Rose, G. (2003). Domestic spacings and family photography: a case study. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, *28*, 5-18.

Rose, G. (2004). "Everyone's cuddled up and it just looks really nice": the emotional geography of some mums and their family photos. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *5*, 549-64.

Rose, G. (2007). *Visual Methodologies An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London and New York: Sage.

Rouse, R. (1991). Mexican migration and the social space of postmodernism. *Diaspora A Journal of Transnational Studies*, *1*(1), 8–23.

Rouse, R. (1995). Questions of identity, personhood and collectivity in transnational migration to the United States. *Critique of Anthropology*, *15*(4), 351-380.

Rowe, D. & Bavinton, N. (2011). Tender for the night: After-dark cultural complexities in the night-time economy. *Continuum: Journal of Media and Cultural Studies*, *25*(6), 811-825.

Roy, S. (2014). *Representations: Indian Independence in Canadian Newspapers of 1947*. Saarbrücken, Germany: Lambert Academic Publishing.

Rugg, J., Ford, J. & Burrows, R. (2004). Housing advantage? The role of student renting in the constitution of housing biographies in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *7*(1), 19-34.

Sage, J., Evandrou, M. & Falkingham, J. (2013). Onwards and homewards? Complex graduate migration pathways, well-being, and the 'parental safety net'. *Population, Space and Place*, *19*, 738-755.

Said, E.W. (2003). [1978]. *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.

Salih, R. (2002). Shifting meanings of 'home': consumption and identity in Moroccan women's transnational practices between Italy and Morocco. In Al-Ali, N. & Koser, K. (Eds.) *New Approaches to Migration? Transnational Communities and the Transformation of Home*. London and New York: Routledge.

Sawir, E. (2005). Another look at the language difficulties of international students. *International Education Journal*, *6*(5), 567-580.

Sawir, E., Marginson, S., Deumert, A., Nyland, C., & Ramia, G. (2008). Loneliness and international students: An Australian study. *Journal of Studies in International Education, 12*, 148-180.

Sawir, E., Marginson, S., Nyland, C., Ramia, G. & Rawlings-Sanaei. F. (2009). The pastoral care of international students in New Zealand: is it more than a consumer protection regime? *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 29(1), 45-59.

Sawir, E., Marginson, S., Forbes-Mewett, H., Nyland, C. & Ramia, G. (2012). International student security and English language proficiency. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *16*(5), 434-454.

Scheyvens, R., Wild, K. & Overton, J. (2003). International students pursuing postgraduate study in Geography: impediments to their learning experience. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 27*(3), 309-323.

Schrieff, L., Tredoux, C., Dixon, J. & Finchilescu, G. (2005). Patterns of racial segregation in university residence dining-hall. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *35*(3), 433-443.

Shaftoe, H. (2008). *Convivial Urban Spaces Creating Effective Public Places*. London: Earthscan.

Sharma, S. (2012). 'The church is...my family': exploring the interrelationship between familial and religious practices and spaces. *Environment and Planning A*, *44*, 816-831.

Sharp, J. & Dowler, L. (2011). Framing the Field. In Del Casino, V.J., Thomas, M., Cloke, P. & Panelli, R. (Eds.) *A Companion to Social Geography* (pp.146–160). Oxford: Blackwell.

Sheller, M. & Urry, J. (2006). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 207-226.

Sherry, M., Thomas, P. & Chui, W.H. (2010). International students: a vulnerable student population. *Higher Education*, *60*, 33–46.

Shipton, A. (2005). *Being and becoming a student in the HE: An appreciation of an evolving sense of self*. Unpublished MPhil thesis. College of York St. John.

Shushok, F. Jr., Scales, T.L., Sriram, R. & Kidd, V. (2011). A tale of three campuses. *About Campus*, July-August.

Shwanen, T., van Aalst, I., Brands, J. & Timan, T. (2012). Rhythms of the night: spatiotemporal inequalities in the nighttime economy. *Environment and Planning A*, *44*, 2064-2085.

Sidhu, R.K. & Dall'Alba, G. (2011). International education and (dis)embodied cosmopolitanisms. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*. doi: 10.1111/j.1469-5812.2010.00722.x

Sidhu, R.K. (2011). Re-thinking student migration trends, trajectories and rights. ARI Working Paper No. 157, June, www.ari.nus.edu.sg/pub/wps.htm

Silverman, D. (2000). Analyzing talk and text in Denzin, N. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Simonsen, K. (2004). Spatiality, temporality and the construction of the city. In Bærenholdt, J.O. & Simonsen, K. (Eds.) *Space Odysseys: Spatiality and Social Relations in the 21st Century*. (pp. 43–63). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Simonsen, K. (2007). Practice, spatiality and embodied emotions: An outline of a geography of practice. *Human Affairs*, *17*, 168-181.

Singh, A.K. (1963). *Indian Students in Britain: A Survey of their Adjustment and Attitudes*. London: Asia Publishing House.

Singh, G. (2006). Gurdwaras and community-building among British Sikhs. *Contemporary South Asia*, *15*(2), 147-164.

Singh, M., Rizvi, F. & Shrestha, M. (2007). Student mobility and the spatial production of cosmopolitan identities. In Gulson, K.N. & Symes, C. (Eds.) *Spatial Theories in Education: Policy and Geography Matters*. (pp.195-215). New York and London: Routledge.

Singh, S. (2011). Indian students in Melbourne: challenges to multiculturalism. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, *32*(6), 673-689.

Skelton, T. & Valentine, G. (Eds.). (1998). *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*. London: Routledge.

Skelton, T. (2000). 'Nothing to do, nowhere to go?': teenage girls and 'public' space in the Rhondda Valleys, South Wales. In Holloway, S.L. & Valentine, G. (Eds.) *Children's Geographies: Playing, Living, Learning.* (pp. 80-99). London: Routledge.

Skelton, T. (2009). Children's geographies/geographies of children: play, work, mobilities and migration. *Geography Compass*, *3*(4), 1430-1448.

Skelton, T. (2013). Young people's urban im/mobilities: relationality and identity formation. *Urban Studies*, *50*(3), 467-483.

Skop, P.C. & Adams, E. (2008). Creating and inhabiting virtual places: Indian immigrants in cyberspace. *National Identities*, *11*(2), 127-147.

Skovdal, M. & Abebe, T. (2012). Reflexivity and dialogue: methodological and socio-ethical dilemmas in research with HIV-affected children in east Africa. *Ethics, Policy and Environment*, *15*(1), 77-96.

Smith, M.P. (2001) *Transnational Urbanism: Locating Globalisation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, M.P. (2005). Transnational urbanism revisited. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *31*(2), 235-244.

Solnit, R. (2002). *Wanderlust: a history of walking*. London: Verso.

Sondhi, G. (2013). Indian international students in Toronto: exploring young men resisting their family's expectations. *South Asian Diaspora*, *5*(2), 223-235.

Staeheli, L.A. & Nagel, C.R. (2006). Topographies of home and citizenship: Arab-American activists in the United States. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 1599-1614.

Strange, C.C. & Banning, J.H. (2001). *Educating by design: creating campus learning environments that work*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Strange, C.C. (1996). Dynamics of campus environments. In Komives, S.R., Woodward, D.B. & associates (Eds.) *Student services: a handbook for the profession*. (pp.244-268). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Talen, E. (2010). The Spatial Logic of Parks. *Journal of Urban Design*, 15(4), 473-491.

Taulke-Johnson, R. (2010). Assertion, regulation and consent: gay students, flatmates, and the heterosexualisation of university accommodation space. *Gender and Education*, *22*(4), 401–417.

Taylor, J. (2011). The Intimate Insider: negotiating the ethics of friendship when doing insider research. *Qualitative Research*, *11*(1): 3-22.

Temple, P. (2007). *Learning spaces for the 21st century: a review of the literature*. York: Higher Education Academy.

Temple, P. (2008). Learning spaces in higher education: an under-researched topic. *London Review of Education*, *6*(3), 229-241.

Temple, P. (2009). From space to place: university performance and its built environment. *Higher Education Policy*, *22*, 209-223.

Temple, P., & R. Barnett. (2007). Higher education space: Future directions. *Planning for Higher Education*, *36*(1), 5-15.

Thomsen, J. (2007). Home experiences in student housing: about institutional character and temporary homes. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *10*(5), 577-596.

Thomas, F. (2007). Eliciting emotions in HIV/AIDS research: a diary-based approach. *Area, 39*, 74–82.

Thrift, N. (2004). Intensities of feeling: towards a spatial politics of affect. *Geografiska Annaler*, *86*, 57-78.

Tolia-Kelly, D. (2004a). Materializing postcolonial geographies: examining the textural landscapes of migration in the South Asian home. *Geoforum*, *35*, 675-688.

Tolia-Kelly, D. (2004b). Locating processes of identification: studying the precipitates of re-memory through artefacts in the British Asian home. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geograpers NS*, *29*, 314-329.

Tolia-Kelly, D. (2006). Mobility/stability: British Asian cultures of "landscape and Englishness". *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 341-358.

Tse, J.K.H. (2011). Making a Cantonese-Christian family: quotidian habits of language and background in a transnational Hongkonger church. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*, 756–768.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Valentine, G. (1999). Eating in: home, consumption and identity. *Sociological Review*, *47*, 491-524.

Valentine, G. (2000). Exploring children and young people's narratives of identity. *Geoforum*, *31*, 257-267.

Valentine, G. (2005). Tell me about…: using interviews as a research methodology. In

Valentine, G. (2008). Living with difference: reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, *32*(3), 323-337.

Valentine, G., Holloway, S.L. & Jayne, M. (2010). Contemporary cultures of abstinence and the nighttime economy: Muslim attitudes towards alcohol and the implications for social cohesion. *Environment and Planning A*, *42*, 8- 22.

Valentine, G., Sporton, D. & Nielson, K.B. (2008). Language use on the move: sites of encounter, identities and belonging. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *33*, 376-387.

van Blerk, L. (2013). New street geographies: the impact of urban governance on the mobilities of Cape Town's street youth. *Urban Studies*, *50*(3), 556-573.

van Heur, B. (2010). The built environment of higher education and research: architecture and the expectation of innovation. *Geography Compass*, *4*(12), 1713-1724.

Vanderbeck, R.M. & Johnson, J.H. Jr. (2000)"That's the only place where you can hang out": Urban young people and the space of the mall. *Urban Studies*, *21*(1), 5-25.

Vanderstoep, S.W. & Johnston, D.D. (2009). *Research Methods for Everyday Life: Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Vannini, P., Waskul, D., Gottschalk, S., & Ellis-Newstead, T. (2012). Making sense of the weather: dwelling and weathering on Canada's rain coast. *Space and Culture*, *15*(4), 361-380.

Veronis, L. (2006). The Canadian Hispanic Day Parade, or how Latin American immigrants practice (sub) urban citizenship in Toronto. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*, 1653-1671.

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2*)*, 447-462.

Vertovec, S. (2004). Cheap calls: the social glue of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, *4*, 219–224.

Vogl, G. & Kell, P. (2010). Welcome to Wollongong: host communities and international students. In *Global student mobility in the Asia Pacific*. (pp. 203-216). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Voigt-Graf, C. (2003). Indians at home in the Antipodes: migrating with Ph.D.s, bytes or kava in their bags. In Parekh, B. Singh, G. and Vertovec, S. (Eds.) *Culture and economy in the Indian diaspora*. London and New York: Routledge.

Volet, S. (1999). Learning across cultures: appropriateness of knowledge transfer. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *31*, 625-643.

Volet, S.E. & Ang, G. (2012). Culturally mixed groups on international campuses: an opportunity for inter-cultural learning. *Higher Education Research and Development*, *31*(1), 21-37.

Walsh, K. (2006). British expatriate belongings: mobile homes and transnational homing. *Home Cultures*, *3*(2), 123-144.

Walsh, K. (2011). Migrant masculinities and domestic space: British home-making practices in Dubai. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS*, *36*(4), 516-529.

Walton-Roberts M. & Pratt G. (2005). Mobile Modernities: A South Asian family negotiates immigration, gender and class in Canada. *Gender, Place and Culture*, *12*(2), 173-195.

Walton-Roberts, M. (2003). Transnational geographies: Indian immigration to Canada. *The Canadian Geographer*, *47*(3), 235-250.

Walton-Roberts, M. (2004). Returning, remitting, reshaping: Non-Resident Indians and the transformation of society and space in Punjab, India. In Jackson, P., Crang, P. & Dwyer, C. (Eds.) *Transnational Spaces*. New York; London: Routledge.

Warren, C.A.B. (2002). Qualitative interviewing. In Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (Eds.) *Handbook of Interview Research Context and Method*. (pp. 83-101). London: Sage.

Waters, J. & Brooks, R. (2011). 'Vive la Différence?': The 'international' experiences of UK students overseas. *Population, Space and Place*, *17*, 567-78.

Waters, J.L. (2002). Flexible families? 'Astronaut' households and the experiences of lone mothers in Vancouver, British Columbia. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *3*(2), 117-134.

Waters, J. L. (2005). Transnational family strategies and education in the contemporary Chinese diaspora. *Global Networks*, *5*(4), 359-77.

Waters, J. L. (2006a). Emergent geographies of international education and social exclusion. *Antipode*, *38*, 1046-68.

Waters, J. L. (2006b). Geographies of cultural capital: education, international migration and family strategies between Hong Kong and Canada. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers NS 31*, 179-192.

Waters, J. L. (2007). 'Roundabout routes and sanctuary schools': the role of situated educational practise and habitus in the creation of transnational professionals. *Global Networks*, *7*(4), 477-97.

Waters, J. L. (2009a). Transnational geographies of academic distinction: the role of social capital in the recognition and evaluation of 'overseas' credentials. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *7*(2), 113-129.

Waters, J.L. (2009b). In pursuit of scarcity: transnational students, 'employability' and the MBA. *Environment and Planning A*, *41*, 1865-1883.

Waters, J.L. (2012). Geographies of international education: mobilities and the reproduction of social (dis)advantage. *Geography Compass*, *6*(3), 123-136.

Waters, J.L., Brooks, R. & Pimlott-Wilson, H. (2011). Youthful escapes? British students, overseas education and the pursuit of happiness. *Social and Cultural Geography*, *12*(5), 455-469.

Watson, S. (2009). The magic of the marketplace: sociality in a neglected public space. *Urban Studies*, *46*(8), 1577–1591.

Wenger, E., McDermott, R. & Snyder, W. (2002). *Cultivating Communities of Practice: A Guide to Managing Knowledge*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Wiers-Jenssen, J. (2008). Does higher education attained abroad lead to international jobs? *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *12*(2), 101-130.

Wiers-Jenssen, J. (2013). Degree mobility from the Nordic countries: background and employability. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *17*(4), 471-491.

Wilding, R. (2006). 'Virtual' intimacies? Families communicating across transnational contexts. *Global Networks*, *6*, 125–142.

Williams, G & Filipakkou, O. (2010). Higher education and UK elite formation in the twentieth century. *Higher Education*, *59*, 1-20.

Wood, B.E. (2013). Young people's emotional geographies of citizenship participation: Spatial and relational insights. *Emotion, Space and Society*, *9*, 50-58.

Wunderlich, F.M. (2008). Walking and Rhythmicity: Sensing Urban Space. *Journal of Urban Design*, *13*(1), 125–139.

Yang, P-Y. R., Noels, K.A. & Saumure, K.D. (2006). Multiple routes to cross-cultural adaptation for international students: mapping the paths between self-construals, English language confidence, and adjustment. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *30*, 487–506.

Yeoh, B.S.A., Huang, S. & Lam, T. (2005). Transnationalizing the 'Asian' family: imaginaries, intimacies and strategic intents. *Global Networks*, *5*, 307-15.

Young, I.M. (1997). House and home: Feminist variations on a theme in *Intersecting Voices: Dilemmas of Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. 134-64.

Young, L & Barrett, H. (2001). Adapting visual methods: action research with Kampala street children. *Area*, *33*(2), 141-52.

Zhang, N., & Dixon, D. N. (2003). Acculturation and attitudes of Asian international students toward seeking psychological help. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *31*(3), 205-222.

Zhang, Y. & Mi, Y. (2010). Another look at the language difficulties of international students. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *14*(4), 371-388.